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THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LXXIX

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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and

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AND AN APPENDIX

Games, Competitors, and Performers in Roman Egypt

by

S. REMIJSEN

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PREFACE

On 20 June 2012 the British Academy played host to an event designed to celebrate the London Olympic Games: 'Training, Cheating, Winning, Praising: Athletes and Shows in Papyri from Roman Egypt'. At the attendant workshop, a group of scholars presented relevant unpublished papyri from Oxyrhynchus. This volume publishes these papyri, and others on related topics.

Oxyrhynchites had a wide range of spectacles to watch: plays and mimes in the theatre, athletic and musical competitions at gymnasial and higher levels, chariot racing and other circus entertainments.

In the background we sense the classical tradition of the Great Games, whose origins and history continued to be discussed (5192–3). Oxyrhynchites read Pindar's *Epinikia* (5201), and epic accounts of mythical Games (5190). They read also classical Tragedy and Comedy (5183–6, 5195–7), especially the New Comedy of Menander (5198–5200). From other papyri, which specify the actors for each part, we know that some plays were actually performed in the theatre; the same was true of mimes (5188–90), which range from solo scena to paratragic drama to knockabout farce. More economically, a soloist offers a selection of songs from the shows (5203).

The agonistic tradition continued in the Hellenistic monarchies, expanded in the Roman period, and in Egypt reached its height in the third century, when Oxyrhynchus founded its own Capitoline Games (AD 273): we are indebted to Dr S. Remijsen for so expertly setting the scene (pp. 190–206). At local level, there were ephebic games (5206); students competed in rhetorical exercises (5194), amateur poets revived the epinician ode (5191), budding pancratiasts read their training manual (5204). In the wider world, there were stars like the poet, scholar and brassy publicist Apion (5202), or the Olympic boxer and wrestler Plutarchus (5207). Such 'sacred victors' (5211) could claim many privileges in their home town, including exemption from liturgies (5210); powerful trade unions, the World-wide Associations of Athletes and of Dionysiac Artists (5208), lobbied for the rights of sportsmen and performers. Winning was important. If you bribe your opponent to lose, you are careful to document the transaction (5209).

Sport and entertainment maintain their place in the fifth and sixth centuries. The authorities provide meat both for athletes and for mime artists (5212–13), and women mimes give their name to a street (5214). The town had long had a hippodrome, now called 'circus'. This no doubt offered the revived chariot races so central to Byzantine politics and fandom; and the variety shows which, as we know from programme leaflets (5215–18), included singers, gymnasts and of course mimes. Winning remains important. Christians they may be, but desperate punters or partisans do not shrink from invoking the old magic to nobble the horses of the Blues (5205).

We record our gratitude to the contributors who have handled so many difficult texts; to Dr R.-L. Chang and Dr D. Colomo for their skill in conserving the papyri and precision in checking transcripts; and to Dr W. B. Henry, who contributed corrections and improvements throughout, compiled the indexes, produced the final copy, and oversaw the correction of proofs. As before, Dr Jeffrey Dean typeset the volume with wonderful sureness, and the Charlesworth Group produced it efficiently and on schedule; a generous offer made by Mr Paul Lynn helped with the costs. The research that informs it would have been impossible without the liberal support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the British Academy.

January 2014

P. J. PARSONS / N. GONIS

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HA = H. Amirav	WSB = W. S. Barrett	AB = A. Benaissa	GB = G. Bevan
RLC = R.-L. Chang	DC = D. Colomo	GBDA = G. B. D'Alessio	MdK = M. de Kreij
ME = M. Eager	NG = N. Gonis	MAH = M. A. Harder	WBH = W. B. Henry
FM = F. Maltomini	MM = M. Mountford	DO = D. Obbink	PJP = P. J. Parsons
LP = L. Prauscello	DWR = D. W. Rathbone	JDT = J. D. Thomas	JY = J. Yuan

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation; see *CE* 7 (1932) 262-9. It may be summarized as follows:

$a\beta\gamma$	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[$a\beta\gamma$]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[...]	Approximately three letters are lost
()	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol
[[$a\beta\gamma$]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
' $a\beta\gamma$ '	The letters are added above the line
< $a\beta\gamma$ >	The letters are added by the editor
{ $a\beta\gamma$ }	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Bold arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca (BASP Suppl. 9, 2001)*; for a more up-to-date version of the *Checklist*, see <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

5183. TRAGEDY (EURIPIDES, *ALEXANDROS?*)

125/25(c)

fr. 1 4.7 × 11.4 cm

First century
Plate I

On the back of two fragments of a roll or sheet, running across the fibres, remains of a text copied in a medium-sized upright semi-cursive hand not unlike the first hand of XLIX 3487 (65). Fr. 1 gives parts of fourteen lines with upper margin, 2.1 cm deep, and left-hand margin preserved to a width of 0.3 cm at the top, while fr. 2 gives eleven line-beginnings with a marginal speaker indication (4) and left-hand margin preserved to a width of 1.7 cm. Fr. 2 appears to belong to the same column as fr. 1: when its line-beginnings are placed on the same alignment as those of fr. 1, a vertical crack running down its top half falls on the same alignment as the left-hand edge of fr. 1, 1.1 cm to the right of the left-hand edge of fr. 2. There are further texts on the front. Fr. 1 gives the beginning of line 834 of Euripides' *Phoenissae*, η]χου παροιθε[, copied in a gently sloping informal hand at about the level of line 1 of the text on the back. About 0.9 cm lower down, on the right-hand edge, there is the end of a greyish horizontal stroke, and slightly further down, on the left, a long double ascending oblique. About level with the lower end of the double oblique, there is a further trace on the right-hand edge, perhaps a triangular letter, and level with the upper end of the double oblique, apparently faint and indistinct traces of two letters. On the front of fr. 2, upside down in relation to the text on the back, remains of a document, possibly a land register. Line 1 gives]ϛ γ d η'; lower down, there is a series of line-ends in grey ink, of which the second gives φορι (i.e. φορι-[μ). The long double oblique on the front of fr. 1 will function as a divider within the register.

The text consists of tragic iambic trimeters, written as prose. Verse-beginnings in mid-line are indicated by hiatus (fr. 1.9) and anapaestic first foot (fr. 1.10). A short blank space at fr. 1.9 may be intended to mark the verse-boundary. A diaeresis on initial iota (fr. 1.1), due to the hand of the main text, is the only lection sign. The main hand is also responsible for corrections at fr. 1.1 and 2, and for the marginal speaker indication at fr. 2.4. The latter was copied as part of the text, its supralinear final letter extending just beyond the left-hand margin of the column. The generous spacing at the top of the column, with enlarged initial set off from what follows, may suggest that this was the beginning of an extract.

The copy is not the work of a professional scribe, but probably due to a student: the hand is irregular, and the base-line in the first two lines of the column slopes noticeably upwards from left to right, suggesting that the writer struggled at

first to keep to a straight base-line without the guidance of cross-fibres. There is ample evidence for the educational use of Euripides' *Phoenissae*, of which the opening of line 834 can be recognized on the other side: see R. Criboire in Y. L. Too (ed.), *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (2001) 241–59. Perhaps part of the scene beginning at *Phoenissae* 834 was to be copied as an exercise, and the incipit was to serve as a reminder of the passage to be used. In any case, this line is no doubt later than the document that occupies most of the front, and to be associated rather with the tragic text on the back that runs in the same direction. Verse texts thought to have been copied by students are sometimes written as prose, like 5183; here, as in other cases, the writing surface may not have been quite wide enough to accommodate a long trimeter as a single line. For other examples from the Roman period of verses copied as prose, see e.g. Trag. adesp. *701a (*TrGF* V 1148); *GMAW*² p. 12 with n. 57; R. Criboire, *GRBS* 33 (1992) 259–61.

5183 does not appear to overlap with any known texts, but the use at fr. 1.2 of the verb *ἐξανεμόω* may suggest that it is to be ascribed to Euripides. The appearance of Priam as a speaking character (named at fr. 2.4 *mg.*) would then appear to indicate that the text belongs to the *Alexandros*. Following the publication of the hypothesis (LII 3650 = *Alex.* test. iii in *TrGF*), this play can be reconstructed with a greater degree of confidence than previously, but many difficulties remain: see for example the edition with commentary by M. J. Cropp in C. Collard et al. (edd.), *Euripides: Selected Fragmentary Plays* ii (2004) 35–87; Collard & Cropp (edd.), *Euripides: Fragments, Aegaeus–Meleager* (2008) 33–75. If the attribution is correct, the use of *φεύγω* or *φεύγωμεν* by an unidentified speaker at fr. 1.3 may provide a clue to the position of the fragments within the play. There is no obvious way to accommodate *φεύγωμεν*, but *φεύγω* could be spoken by Paris taking refuge at the altar of Zeus Herkeios: cf. Hygin. *Fab.* 91.6 (*Alex.* test. iv b (2)) *ille in aram Iovis insiluit*; *LIMC* I (1981) s.v. Alexandros nos. 20–42 (*Alex.* test. iv d), depictions in Etruscan art of Paris taking refuge at an altar. *τροφε*[] [(fr. 1.8) could then be a reference to the stepfather whose evidence will save him. If this identification is correct, then one may deduce from fr. 2 that Priam had a speaking part in this scene. A further speaker (Hecuba or Deiphobus?) may also be detected in fr. 1: see commentary. Professor Parsons suggests that Deiphobus enters in pursuit of Paris, without noticing him (for a time); then Priam enters to restore order, and Paris and Deiphobus conduct the *agon* about slavery (cf. *Alex.* fr. 48–61) in his presence, but this is proved irrelevant when Cassandra arrives and identifies her brother.

Fr. 1

ἰ δου ^π τερωτ[	ἰδού, πτερωτ[
ἐξηνεμωσεκα.[	ἐξηνέμωσε κα.[
φευγωμενηδη[	φεύγω μὲν ἦδη [
...]ρμονοσκ[	...]ρ μόνος κ[

5	..]ανιουφρυ[	5	νε]ανίου Φρυ[
	...]. δεπρε.[		...]. δεπρε.[
	...]. αδουλο[		...]. α δουλο[
	...]. αιτροφ.[ ] . [		...]. αι τροφε[] . [
	...]. ετλη απαυ[		...]. ετλη απαυ[
10	...]. διεδυσε[	10	...]. διεδυσε[
	...]. επατρας.[		...]. επατρας.[
	...]. ζτετεκν[		...]. ζτετεκν[
	...]. ατου[		...]. ατου[
	...]. [...]. [

Fr. 1

1 ., a letter resembling N made as in 2, except that the final stroke is a steeply ascending oblique, considerably raised, perhaps a cancel stroke τ[, a thin upright, and to its left, the left-hand end of a cross-bar at letter-top level 2 εξ, generously spaced, with ξ placed on the same alignment as δ in the line above and ligated to ε by an extended cross-stroke ω made out of ο . [, the beginning of a stroke ascending from left to right, perhaps λ or μ 6] . ., above letter-top level, a short cross-stroke; a speck at mid-line level . [, a tall stroke on the edge 7] . ., the upper part of a steeply ascending oblique: 1 probable 8] αι, not] η, whose second upright does not ascend above the level of the cross-bar . [] . [, a steeply descending oblique closely followed by a cross-stroke at mid-line level, perhaps ε; after a short gap, an upright trace, apparently joined from the left at the top, with ink to the right at the foot 9 ν[, the foot and faint traces suggesting the upper part of the first stroke 10] . ., the foot of an upright followed by the upper part of an upright joined from the left by a gently ascending stroke, perhaps N 11] . ., a connecting stroke ascending from low in the line to join ε at the top of the first stroke, e.g. α, λ, N τ ligated to the preceding α, with cross-bar extending only a little to the left of the upright: ρ not excluded . [, a trace at letter-top level on the edge 14] . [, a flat stroke high in the line

Fr. 2

	τ[
	ν[
	κα[
	πρι ^μ . [
5	κα[
	διην[
	κακ.[
	ητιε[
	σφα[
10	και [
	] π... [

Fr. 2

4 . [, specks 5 Additional ink above and to the left of κ and below α, perhaps casual
7 . [, the edge of the left-hand arc of a circle 11 . . . [, the top of an upright; confused traces
on the edge

Fr. 1

Metre. Line-beginning and verse-beginning coincide in lines 1–3, while in lines 9 and 10 a verse begins in mid-line. There is no clear indication elsewhere that a verse began in mid-line, but the possibility is to be remembered. Since trimeters vary in length, there is no particular reason to assume that the verse-beginning moved progressively further to the right; indeed the verse-beginning in line 10 is further to the left than that in line 9.

Speakers. The number of speakers is unknown. If διέδου or διέδου (10) has the same subject as φεύγω (3), the change of person indicates a change of speaker, but the point at which it occurred cannot be determined, and the identity of the new speaker is unclear. If the speaker of lines 1–3 is Paris, then besides Priam, named as a speaker at fr. 2.4 *mg.*, Hecuba and Deiphobus may be considered as possible speakers at line 10. Professor Parsons suggests that the new speaker is already to be recognized at line 5: Deiphobus (?) does not know who Paris is, except that he is a young man (5) and looks like (6 n.) a slave (7), which makes it all the worse that he has dared (9) to (shame us?) all.

1 ιδού is likely to be the independent exclamation ιδού rather than the verbal ιδού: see e.g. Bond on *Hyps.* fr. 752c.1 (p. 57) and on *Herc.* 867.

πτερωτ[. Neither 'winged' nor 'feathered' seems promising in this context, unless used figuratively: for πτερωτ[with φεύγω (3), Professor Parsons compares Eur. *Herc.* 628 οὐ γὰρ πτερωτός οὐδὲ φευξείω φίλου. Otherwise, perhaps the word is used in the metaphorical sense 'idle, fleeting', like πτηνός elsewhere in Euripides (*IT* 571 πτηνῶν οὐνείρων, fr. 271.1 πτηνὰς διώκεις, ὦ τέκνον, τὰς ἐλπιδὰς) and πτεροίει in Bacchylides (3.75 πτεροίεσσα δ' ἐλπιδὸς ὑπ[νύθημα); cf. 2 n.

2 ἐξημέωσε. Eur. *Andr.* 938 ἐξημεύθη μωρίαί and *Hel.* 32 ἐξημέωσε τᾶμ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ λέχη are the only poetic examples of this verb. Either 'puffed (me) up' or 'turned (my victories) to thin air' may be suitable if the speaker is Paris.

3 φεύγω μὲν rather than φεύγωμεν: see introd.

4 Professor Parsons suggests ἀνήρ μόνος, 'a man alone and outnumbered', of Paris taking refuge at the altar. Otherwise, perhaps μόνος preceded by ὄπερ or another case of that pronoun. ἀτέρμονος does not seem to lead anywhere.

5 Presumably νε]ανίου (referring to Paris himself?) followed by a case of Φρύξ. νε]ανίου Φρυγός is one possibility, and Professor Parsons notes that the specification of the young man's nationality could be justified if there were also foreigners among the contestants, as reported by Hygin. *Fab.* 273.12 (*Alex.* test. iv b (end)). The two examples of this word preserved in the fragments of the play are in the plural (fr. 62a.14, 62d.22).

If this is the beginning of a trimeter, then medial caesura may have followed: but this would be incompatible with the ascription of the fragment to Euripides (Diggle, *CR* 34 (1984) 67 = *Euripidea* 314). Otherwise a disyllable beginning Φρυγ will have been followed by a monosyllable, with or without elision. In that case, either Φρύγες (or another disyllabic form) is the first word of a sentence, followed by a connecting particle; or νε]ανίου Φρύγες (or another disyllabic form) begins the sentence and is followed by a connecting particle in third place (for γὰρ and δέ so placed, cf. Denniston, *Greek Particles* 96, 187–8; Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 271; Diggle, *PCPS* 15 (1969) 54 = *Euripidea* 26). But Φρύξ and Φρύγ' are not excluded. Alternatively, if νεανίου ends a trimeter, Professor Parsons suggests e.g. Φρυγῶν ἀρίστους δε νείκηκεν κράτει.

6 The first trace may belong to a supralinear letter: cf. 1.

δεπερ[. Perhaps δε πρέξ[βυ(-). The word is used at *Alex.* fr. 62d.54, probably with reference

to Priam: see Cropp's note. Since Priam is named as a speaker at fr. 2.4 *mg.*, it may well refer to him here. Otherwise, the reference may be to Paris' foster-father (cf. β), but hardly to the chorus-leader. Professor Parsons suggests (ε)πρεπ[or -πρεψ[('look like'); cf. above on 'Speakers'.

7 δουλο[, unless it belongs to a generalization, may be said with reference to Paris. Alternatively, it may refer to his foster-father, who appears to be mentioned in the next line.

8 τροφε[. [Apparently a reference to Paris' foster-father in some case. τροφε[ι. [and τροφε[ι. [both seem possible, but neither the space after ε nor the traces at the end of the line seem to suit upsilon. The foster-father arrives near the end of the play and reveals the truth concerning Paris' parentage (test. iii.30–32).

9] ἔτλη απαυ[. The hiatus, if sound, indicates that ἔτλη is the end of a verse. The next line also appears to give the end of one verse and the beginning of the next, with the boundary coming a little further to the left, confirming that the text is set out as prose. See introd.

ἔτλη. As neither speaker nor subject is known, it is not possible to choose between 'dared' and 'endured'.

απαυ[: ἀπαυ[(-), or possibly ἀπ' ἀν[- with unmarked elision.

10 διέδουσε[appears to be the beginning of a trimeter. The preceding traces seem likely to be the remains of a nu; and so if a trimeter began at the start of the line, διέδου, being preceded by a long syllable, would constitute the second foot. But Euripides only allows anapaestic second feet in the case of proper names that would otherwise be intractable (Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* 47–8).

The division is uncertain. The sigmatic aorist does not seem to be attested before Photius, and a causative does not seem likely in any case, but διέδου σε[and διέδου ε[are both possible. Perhaps the subject is Paris, who has slipped away and taken refuge at the altar. Austin–Olson on Ar. *Th.* 711–12 note that the verb is found in comedy and prose but not in serious poetry, but there is no reason to doubt it here: the simplex and other compounds are attested in tragedy.

11 ἐπ' ἄγρας, suggested by Professor Parsons, could give a reference to the hunt for Paris (cf. *Alex.* fr. 62d.29, 31), who has now eluded (10) his pursuer or pursuers. Otherwise, πάτρα(c).

12 τεκν[- rather than ἐτεκν[- . Number and reference are unknown.

Fr. 2

Line-beginnings apparently belonging to the same column as fr. 1: see introd. In a rough transcription of the two fragments by A. S. Hunt, line 1 is placed at the level of fr. 1.4, with fr. 2.2 contributing the first letter of fr. 1.5 νε]ανίου; but as Dr Coles notes, this does not appear to be the correct arrangement.

4 *mg.* Πρίαμ(ος). See introd.

6 διην[. If the word begins a trimeter, e.g. διην[υε-, or perhaps διην[εμ- or διην[εκ-, though neither of these is found in Euripides; or δι' ἦν [. Otherwise διην[εγκ- may be added to the possibilities.

9 φα[λ, φα[γ (the slaughter planned for Paris?), etc.

10 Probably καί [in view of the blank space.

11 The line projects into the left-hand margin by the width of one letter. It is not clear what significance if any is to be attached to this.

5184. TRAGEDY

46 5B.51/E(6-7)b

9 × 8.9 cm

Third century
Plate I

On the back of a fragment of a roll, running across the fibres, line-ends from one column and line-beginnings from the next, with lower margin preserved to a depth of 2.4 cm (probably the full original depth, to judge by the preserved straight edge). On the front, a document of uncertain character in a second-century hand (6-8 *καὶ διὰ λόγου Ἀθηναρίου κω. [| γίνεταί κῶα. vac. | καὶ εἰς ταινίαν ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς ΚλΔ]*, with a lower margin (corresponding to the lower margin on the back) preserved only to a depth of 0.5 cm: perhaps the roll was, as often, cut down before the back was reused. Five lines of the literary text and the interlinear space under the fifth occupy an area 3 cm high. The intercolumnium is about 1.5 cm wide at its narrowest, but at the level of ii 9 nearly its full width is occupied by a speaker indication. The small sloping cursive hand suggests a private copy. It may be compared to the hands of P. Lips. II 152 (Pl. xxix), dated to 250, and P. Ups. Frid 6 (Pl. 6), dated to 273; the hexameters of LXXVII 5106 (Pl. I) show a similar hand used for literature. The cap of sigma (i 3, 6, 8) and the tail of alpha (i 9) are extended into the intercolumnium at line-end. There are no lection signs except diaeresis on initial iota (ii 6), due to the hand of the main text, as is the single speaker indication (ii 9). On the front, approximately 1.7 cm to the right of the left-hand side, the ragged edge of a *kollesis* can be seen.

The text of col. ii begins with a sequence of marching anapaests (3-8), no doubt to be assigned to the chorus-leader. They appear to have been arranged not in the expected dimeters but in longer lines (3-8 n.). There follows an iambic trimeter (9), standing on the same alignment, the speaker of which is identified by a marginal indication as Eteocles. The chorus-leader refers to hated exiles (4), perhaps with reference to Polynices, and names Eteocles (5), before turning to address him as 'child' (6) and asking him to come and tell them the contents of Apollo's oracle (7-8). Eteocles states that a tablet will reveal the information requested (9): presumably the oracle was recorded on it. We can only guess what the oracle may have been: perhaps it is to be identified with that mentioned at Soph. *OC* 385-417, according to which the welfare of the Thebans depends on their recalling Oedipus and ensuring that he is buried near the city.

The author of the fragment cannot be determined, but it seems likely that he is to be placed later than the fifth century: see ii 7 n. The wording of ii 9 appears to be drawn from Euripides: see n. Plosive and liquid lengthen a short final syllable at ii 5 *βαρὺ δρ[*, as expected in post-classical tragedy (M. L. West, *Greek Metre* (1982) 160 with n. 74). For other anonymous treatments of the myth in tragedy, see *Trag. adesp.* 458, 665 (PSI XIII 1303).

Col. i

Col. ii

].		
].c		
].c	.....]ρομ...ταχ.[	.....]ρομ...ταχ.[
]..	στυγνοι[.]εφυγοντεςαπ.[	στυγνοι [.]εφυγοντες απ.[
5]	ετεοκλεαπαιδαβαρυδρ[	5 Ἐτεοκλέα παῖδα βαρὺ δρ[
]..c	τεκνον[.]επε.[.]ησονικ[	τέκνον, [.]επε.[.]ησον ικ[
]	ποταπουλογιονθεοσαπολλ[	ποταπὸν λόγιον θεὸς Ἀπόλλ[ων
]ηc	ωχρηcμεδοκωβαρυcυ.[	ὦ χρηcμέ, δοκῶ, βαρὺ cυγγ[εν
]a	ετεοκ αυτηφραcειcοιδελτοcαντ[	Ἐτεοκλ(ηc) αὐτῆ φράcει cοι δέλτοc αντ[ι

Col. i

1],, abraded, perhaps a tall upright 2],, abraded 3],, a high trace 4],,, abraded traces, the first suggesting the right-hand arc of a circle, the second a short upright joined at the top from the left by an ascending oblique 6],,, a short horizontal trace at letter-top level, abraded below; an upright 9],, abraded

Col. ii

3 ... a low trace; abraded traces including an upright; parts of a circle or loop],, abraded 4],, perhaps the lower left-hand corner of α or ο 6],, abraded low traces with further specks at mid-line level, perhaps 1],, the foot of a descender; above, a steeply descending oblique joined from the left near the top by an ascending oblique 8],, perhaps τ joined to an upright with damaged surface to the right, rather than π[9 η, part of an upright in a space suiting η 4, a low speck in a narrow space

'... quick (?) ... hated ... having fled ... Eteocles, child ... grievous ... do (?) ...

'Child, ... come ... What kind of oracle ... god Apollo ... O oracle, I expect, grievous ...

kin (?) ...

'ETEOCLES The tablet will tell you by itself in place of ...'

Col. ii

4 *στυγνοι* [.]ε *φυγοντες* may refer to the exiled Polynices: cf. Soph. *OC* 1173 *παῖς οὐμός, ἀναξ, cτυγνός* (Oedipus of Polynices). [δ]ε or [γ]ε would be acceptable, but probably not [τ]ε, as we should have expected the left-hand end of the cross-bar to be visible where blank surface is preserved to the right of 1. Professor Parsons proposes instead [c]ε, suggesting that one of Eteocles' parents was present (cf. 5 *παῖδα*), for example Oedipus, deserted by his hostile sons, or by the Thebans.

At the end, e.g. *ἀπὸ* [*πτόλεως* (not a known tragic form in this case, but cf. on 7)], or perhaps *ἀπα*[*ντήσαι* or, with catalexis, *ἀπαντάν* (cf. Eur. *Ph.* 1392 *Πολυνείκης δ' ἀπήντησεν δορί*; for the construction, e.g. Xen. *Anab.* 2.6.9 *ὄραν cτυγνός ἦν*; Pind. *Nem.* 10.20 *ἔστι δὲ καὶ κόρος ἀνθρώπων βαρὺς ἀντιάσαι*); or e.g. *ἀπα*[*ντες*, again with catalexis. Professor Parsons suggests *ἀπῆ*[*λθον*, but it is not clear that the final trace can represent η. If there was catalexis, it will be necessary to suppose that the dimeter following the paroemiac was written on the same line (cf. 3-8 n. below), since *Ἐτεοκλέα παῖδα* (5) is not likely to be the beginning of a sentence. But catalexis is more likely at the end of 5: see n.

5 *Ἐτεοκλέα* has a short alpha for the sake of the metre, like *εὐκλέα* (agreeing with *θρόνον*) at

Soph. *OT* 161 (lyr.). The accusative singular is not otherwise attested in tragedy except in iambic trimeters, where the long alpha is unproblematic. *Ἐτεοκλέα* is found in an epigram, *Isid. AP* 7.532.1 (Gow–Page, *Garl.* 3897).

παῖδα: cf. perhaps Eur. *Ph.* 1587 *Ἐτεοκλέης παῖς κός*. See also 4 n.

δρ[: perhaps part of *δράν*. No suitable compound beginning *βαρυδρ-* is available. (At Hsch. β 245 *βαρυδρόμου μεγαλοφώνου, βαρυβρόμου* is restored.)

Catalexis seems probable at the end of this line, with the vocative at the start of line 6 introducing a new sentence. If the line was a dimeter, only the end of the final syllable is lost, but to judge by 7–8, more may be missing on the right: see 3–8 n. below.

6 *τέκνον*. Eteocles, spoken of in the previous line, comes into view and is addressed. Aesch. *Sept.* 686 (to Eteocles) shows that this form of address need not imply an older speaker (cf. Hutchinson's note), but that is the natural assumption here, where the speaker is not attempting to restrain Eteocles from youthful folly (cf. perhaps Eur. *Alc.* 674; M. Lloyd, *JHS* 128 (2008) 190) but merely requesting information. On the other hand, a later writer may have taken this vocative over without giving much thought to its implications.

[] *επε*. [] .] *ησον* *ικ[*. At the end, perhaps *κόν* *ικ[οῦ μέλαθρον*: one might have expected the second syllable of *μέλαθρον* to scan long (cf. 5), but the author need not have been consistent in this respect. Before it, *επεῖ* [] *ρη* would suit the space, but] *ρ* is far from easy. The space before *επε* seems probably too narrow to accommodate a letter.

7 *ποταπόν*. Here apparently 'Of what kind?' rather than 'From what country?'. The latter is the only sense reliably attested for tragedy, while the former seems to be a later development: see Arnott on *Alex.* fr. 94.1; Olson on *Ar. Ach.* 767–8. If this were a fifth-century tragedy, we would be justified in substituting *ποδαπόν*, but this poet may well have used the later spelling: see Arnott for discussion.

λόγιον. The only tragic instance is at Eur. *Hold.* 405, a line rightly deleted by Wilamowitz: see Wilkins' note, and Diggle, *PCPS* 28 (1982) 59 = *Euripidea* 223, who observes that it is a word 'not elsewhere found in tragedy or high poetry but common in Aristophanes and prose'. Here it seems to have the same reference as *χρησιμός* (8). Neil on *Ar. Eq.* 120, attempting to distinguish the uses of the two words, states that he knows 'of no case where *λόγιον* means an oracle just delivered, except perhaps Lucian *Jub. trag.* 31', but it seems likely that the present line is such a case.

θεός *Ἀπόλλ[ων*. The long alpha, familiar in the oblique cases in epic, is not otherwise attested in the nominative, and not found at all elsewhere in tragedy. The phrase *θεός* *Ἀπόλλων* does not seem to occur elsewhere in poetry in any case.

8 *ὦ* *χρησιμέ*. Cf. Soph. *OT* 151 *ὦ Διός ἄδυπές φάτι*; *Ar. Eq.* 120 *ὦ (ὦ) λόγια*.

At the end, Professor Parsons suggests e.g. *βαρὺν κυγγ[ενέων θέσπιμα φέρει μελέουιν*. If the final trace represents π[], *βαρὺς ὑπ[ρος* may be considered, as in *Theoc.* 22.204 (of the dying Lynceus) *κάδ δ' ἄρα οἱ βλεφάρων βαρὺς ἔδραμεν ὑπνος, 24.47 δμῶας . . . ὑπνον βαρὺν ἐκφυεῶντας*. But this phrase does not seem to suit the context.

3–8 We expect anapaestic runs to be set out as dimeters (cf. e.g. West, *BICS* 24 (1977) 89; *Greek Metre* 95), but here it seems necessary to assume longer lines. If each line contained not one but two dimeters, there will be room in line 7 for a finite verb with *θεός* *Ἀπόλλ[ων* as its subject and *ποταπόν* *λόγιον* as its object, and in line 8 for the remainder of the sentence (cf. the suggestion in the previous note). The layout assumed, with two anapaestic dimeters to a line, is paralleled in Byzantine manuscripts, but not in the Roman period; but a writer wishing to avoid wasting space in an informal copy may have used it. Cf. the anapaests set out as prose following iambic trimeters set out as verse in the first-century papyrus of *Trag. adesp.* 644.20–49 (MP³ 1710).

Nothing can be reliably concluded from the absence of indentation. It is true that runs of anapaests set out as dimeters are usually indented in relation to iambic trimeters in copies assigned to the

Roman period: cf. *XLV 3216* (*Trag. adesp.* 654), and for Euripides, *P. Ryl.* III 482, perhaps *Telephus* (fr. **727b); VI 852 fr. i iv, *Hypsiphyle* (fr. 752h); XXXIV 2685 fr. i ii, *Phrixus* (fr. 822); so too in the late (vi/vii?) *P. De Langhe*, p. 7 (MP³ 382), *Andromache*, though in *BKT* V.2 88–96 fol. 1^r (vi), *Hippolytus*, both stand on the same alignment. But LXXVIII 5131 (*Eur. Iono?*), assigned to the third century, appears to have anapaestic dimeters and iambic trimeters beginning on the same alignment, though it is not quite certain that the anapaestic lines are all dimeters, and on metrical grounds alone one might have preferred to suppose that the last (7) was a dimeter followed by a paroemiac (cf. 5131 ii 3–7 n.). In any case, it may seem unsafe to draw any conclusion concerning an informal copy such as this on the basis of the practice observed in formal manuscripts. See in general L. Savignago, *Eisthesis* (2008).

9 *αὐτῆ* *φράσει* *κοι* *δέλτος*. Cf. Eur. *IT* 760–63 *τάνοντα κάγγεγραμμέν' ἐν δέλτου πτυχαῖς | λόγῳ φράσω κοί . . . | . . . ἦν μὲν ἐκκώσης γραφῆν, | αὐτῆ* *φράσει* *κυῶσα* *τάγγεγραμμένα*. Eteocles or one of his retainers perhaps brought the tablet with him. If so, to judge by this line, it may have been passed to the chorus-leader at this point, but other possibilities can be imagined. The oracle will presumably have been read out in due course, but perhaps not immediately: the poet may have preferred to hold the tension by presenting first the reaction of the (silent) reader. Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 856 ff. (*Phaedra's* tablet); *Ar. Eq.* 115 ff. (oracles). For the written oracle, cf. e.g. Soph. *Trach.* 46–7, 157–8, 1166–7; *Ar. Av.* 982 (*χρησιμός*) *ὄν* *ἐγὼ* *παρὰ* *τὰπόλλωνος* *ἐξεγραψάμην*; *Hdt.* 1.47–8, 7.142.1, 8.135; J. Dillery in S. I. Johnston, P. T. Struck (edd.), *Mantikē* (2005) 215–18, 225–6; P. E. Easterling, *JHS* 105 (1985) 4 (on anachronistic references to writing in tragedy).

αὐτῆ, as in the line of Euripides, seems the likeliest interpretation of the opening: the tablet by itself will convey the oracle, saving Eteocles the trouble. But *αὐτῆ*, though less pointed, is not ruled out.

ἀντ[ι(-), if it is the preposition, may have been followed by a word for 'speech' (*φθέγγματος?*), indicating that Eteocles will not himself give a report, or e.g. *τοῦ θεοῦ*. Otherwise, it may be the beginning of a compound adjective, but I have not found anything suitable. Professor Parsons suggests e.g. *ἄν τ[ι* *προσμένης* (if this is a late composition).

W. B. HENRY

5185. OLD COMEDY

88/424(a)

4.1 × 6.7 cm

Second/third century
Plate I

A fragment broken off on all sides. The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank.

The hand, a small upright specimen of the 'Severe Style', may be assigned to the late second or early third century. Though somewhat smaller in size, it is very similar to that of XXXVII 2806 (Pl. II), a papyrus of Old Comedy assigned to the same period (*Com. adesp.* 1109 KA), for which W. B. Henry, *ZPE* 187 (2013) 52, has argued that it comes from the same roll as VI 863 (*Eup.* fr. *101 KA). Individual letter shapes are generally the same as those of 2806; note in particular λ, ε, κ, μ, ζ, the characteristic leftward curve of the foot of γ in 5185 5 and 2806 i 4, and the flat-based ω. Only ν is generally different in 2806 (the diagonal meets the right-hand hasta above the foot, though not at fr. i i 5 *αξιον*). Another slight difference from 2806 is the upright stance of the script in 5185, whereas 2806 displays

a slight rightward inclination. The interlinear space is the same in both papyri. If not fragments of the same roll (the colour is different, but this may as often be due to different find-spots), it is likely that the same scribe was responsible for both texts. Lobel was inclined to propose a third-century date for **2806**, but a cursive marginal addition led him to consider the second. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* 61, speaks of a second-century hand.

A dicolon at 7, probably due to the hand of the main text, indicates a change of speaker. There are two cases of elision, both made tacitly (5). Iota adscript is employed once (12).

The fragment apparently preserves the ends of iambic trimeters. Line 3 rules out catalectic tetrameters (but allows the very rare acatalectic form; see West, *Greek Metre* 93). Trochaic tetrameters cannot be excluded, but are less likely, since we should have to admit several metrical rarities within four verses: note the substitution for two shorts of what would be the anceps of the third metron in 4 and 6 (see West, *Greek Metre* 92).

The diction (see 10 n.) points to Old Comedy, which tallies with the likely association of **5185** with **2806** (and **863**). The fragmentary nature of the piece does not allow any glimpse of the action other than that there is a dialogue, probably involving only two persons, carried on in animated language.

]. [

]. ουκ[64]εμε[

]. ιστηνητηςοδου[

]. μιαρωτατε [

5] . τενταυθησθ[

]λωσδιεπραξ[

]ανομοι: [

]cacc. ci. [

]οτεσελ. . [

10]διαμεμη[

]ς.υκε. [

] . ωιλοι. [

1] . [, upright descending well below the line 2] . [, lower left-hand arc of a circle, as of right-hand side of Δ or tail of Α or Λ κ[, short upright joining descending oblique at mid-line level 3] . [, a trace on the line and another below: if there was abrasion, this could belong to a descender such as that of ρ, but in that case the circler of ρ would have touched the next letter 4] . [, right-hand curve, probably of ω 5] . [, trace at one-third height, probably of descending oblique 8 ε . [, upright descending below the line [, left-hand part of ω rather

than c 9 . . [, one or two letters: foot of slanting upright followed by letter foot, perhaps of upright 11 [, first four indeterminate, then high curved trace at upper right, probably ο . [, high trace, start of short riser 12] . [, thickish trace [, low trace, perhaps foot of rising oblique, followed by top of descending oblique (λ, Δ, or λ)

3] . ιστην της οδοῦ. If we read rho at the start, the first word may be e.g. ἀ]ρίστην, μακα]ριστήν, etc., and there would be a breach of Porson's law. But the reading is doubtful: see the palaeographical note.

4 ὦ seems certain. Then μιαρῶτατε: this superlative is a common term of abuse in Aristophanes, always at verse-end (*Ach.* 182, 557, *Pax* 183, *Av.* 1209, *Lys.* 989, *Ran.* 466, etc.). In *Pax* 183, *Av.* 1209, and *Ran.* 466, it is addressed to a person who has just approached a place where his presence is unwelcome. The circumstances here may be similar to those in *Pax* and *Ranae*. The element of place, not incompatible with the idea of the unwelcome newcomer, figures prominently in this fragment: cf. της οδοῦ (3), ἐνταῦθ' (5), εἰσιώ[ν (8). Cf. *Pax* 184 πῶς δεῦρ' ἀνήλθες, ὦ μιαρῶν μιαρῶτατε; The superlative is also found in Antiph. fr. 157.9 and Men. *Asp.* 313. The latter comes close to the same usage: ὦ (ο παρ.) μιαρῶτατος, of the absent Smikrines. But so far as our evidence goes, the vocative occurs in comedy only in Aristophanes.

5]ατ' ἐνταῦθ' ἦσθ[α, ἦσθ[όμην, ἦσθ[ιον, etc.

6 Perhaps an adverb in]λωσ or -]λ' ὧσ, followed by an aorist form of διαπράττω or διαπράττομαι (the latter is more common), such as διεπραξ[άμην, etc. E.g., οὐ κα]λῶς διεπραξ[ατε. Dr Henry suggests ἀσφα]λῶς; cf. Antipho 5.81, Xen. *Symp.* 2.11.

7 παρ]άνομοι would satisfy the metre and suit the context as conveying abuse (ἄνομοι, otherwise unattested in Comedy, would produce a split resolution, while νόμοι would be more difficult to place in the context). Metre allows a vocative preceded by the interjection ὦ, but this form of address does not occur anywhere else in comedy. An alternative would be ἀγορανόμοι (or ἀγορανόμοι); cf. Ar. *Ach.* 824 (WBH).

8 εἰσιώ[ν, with the word-ending before that likely to belong to a second person singular aorist, e.g. ἔφθα]cacc εἰσιώ[ν, or εἰσιώ, with an aorist participle before.

9 Apparently not ἐλη[λύθατε/-ότες vel sim., since this would introduce a problematic sixth-foot anapaest (see Dover on *Ran.* 1203).

10]διαμεμη[can be articulated in various ways, but there is an item of comic vocabulary that would fit the line-end exactly: διαμεμή[ρικ- (see also next note). The verb, found in comedy only at Ar. *Av.* 669, 706, and 1254, is a vulgar term for sexual congress; see J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (1991) 153, and Dunbar on *Av.* 668. What part this activity played in the context is unclear. The perfect διαμεμήρικα (or the like) would denote a completed sexual act; it is a matter of speculation whether this had anything to do with the angry exchange.

11 Not οὐκέτ[ι: the trace on the edge is too high to be the tip of the horizontal of tau. This may be an accent or the foot of the descender of rho from the previous line; in which case read διαμεμήρ[ικ- in 10.

12 Probably] . ωι λoid[, with a form of λoidorῶ. The verb, common in Aristophanes, suits the context; cf. 4 and perhaps 7.

5186. NEW COMEDY

112/21(b)

3.9 × 6.4 cm

Second/third century
Plate I

A fragment broken on all sides. The writing runs along the fibres. The back is blank.

Dicola mark changes of speaker at 3, 7, 9. A rough breathing (Turner's form 1: *GMAW*² p. 11) signals the aspiration produced by the crasis at 2. There is an apostrophe (8), probably marking elision, and high (1 and 5) and low points (6), serving as punctuation. All lectional signs except perhaps for the high point at 5 are due to the original hand.

The fragment contains what seems to be a dialogue. Assuming that these are iambic trimeters, we seem to have the middle parts of lines. What we have at 2 can only be the beginning of the second metron.

5186 is in the same hand and probably from the same roll as **XXII 2329** (Com. adesp. 1091 KA), though their relative position cannot be determined. I owe the identification to Dr Henry, who points out that it shares an uncommon character name, Mixias (3), with **XV 1824** (Com. adesp. 1045 KA), but there are no other grounds for associating it with that text. T. B. L. Webster, *An Introduction to Menander* (1974) 201, tentatively assigned **2329** to Menander's *Phasma*, but the suggestion has not been generally accepted; see e.g. W. G. Arnott (ed.), *Menander* iii (2000) 371.

	. [.] ερσειν·ε· χ[		. [.] ερσειν·ε· εχ[
	] ἀνθρωποσομ[		] ἀνθρωπος ομ[
	] χμιξία: τιφ[		] χι Μιξία: τι φ[
	] ωντισηγεν[		] ωντισηγεν[
5	] πιταμα·τη· [	5	ἐ] πὶ τὰμά· τη· [
	] ον·ουκαναξ[		] ον· οὐκ ἀναξ[ι
	] ροις: τήνεμ[		] ροις: τήν ἐμ[
	] κ' ἀναξιον· [		] κ' ἀναξιον· [
	] . . . ονεστι· [		] . . . ον ἐστι· [
10	] ωντραπ[	10	] ωντραπ[
	] δεμου[		] δεμου[

1] [.] minimal low speck ε·, base horizontal joining foot of ascending oblique at left and sloping down at right (x rather than λ); lower part of ε, c 4] [.] top of upright 5] [.] upper part of curved letter, c rather than ε 8] [.] trace at one-third height, probably foot of ascending oblique 9] [.] high speck, then probably an apex; high trace, possibly top of oblique; upper

right-hand corner of x or κ], on damaged surface, traces resembling left-hand part of small circle and dot above 10] [.] right-hand tip of high horizontal (a descending oblique is visible in the interlinear space below, but its purpose is unclear)

1 -]ερσειν. Of the various possible verbs, only ἡμερσειν seems likely to occur outside high poetry (Thphr. *HP* 9.8.2 ὅταν ἀμέρσειν (v.l. ἀμερθῶσι) τὸν καρπὸν). If this is paratragedy, ἐπ]ερσειν and ἐκ]ερσειν may also be considered.

3]χι Μιξία or Μιξία. Μιξ(ί)α is found as a speaker name in New Comedy in **XV 1824** = Com. adesp. 1045.3, where Kassel–Austin refer to *Et. gen.* A B s. v. Μιξίαι (Et. magn. p. 588.33). The name Μιξίαι is attested three or four times in fifth- and fourth-century Athens; see *LGPV* II s.v. The spelling with iota might be phonetic or part of the old and general confusion over the spelling of μ(ε)γισυμι and related words. Before that, ναί]χι or οὐ]χί.

τι φ]ής is tempting. This type of question, employed mostly on its own and usually coinciding with change of speaker, is frequent in both Tragedy and Comedy. τι φ]ησι is another, although less well-paralleled, option; τι φ]αίνεται would also scan.

4] ωντισηγεν[. There are several possibilities:] ων τις and then ἦ γε ν[, ἦ γε ν[, ἦ γε ν[, ἦ γε(ν), etc. The absence of punctuation would not favour articulating] ων τις ἦ γε ν[-, etc. (μ[is unlikely in this hand).

5 ἐ] πὶ τὰμά (or with crasis or prodelision: ἦ] πὶ, καὶ] πὶ, etc.). Cf. Ar. *Ecol.* 1001 ἐπὶ τὰμὰ στρώματα.

6] ον·ουκαναξ[. For the low stop, cf. **2329** 23] τήν·ουδεπο[(stop omitted by Kassel–Austin, Com. adesp. 1091).

οὐκ ἀνάξ[ιον or οὐκ ἀν ἀξ[ι-. ἀναξ[ι- is suggested by 8. For the litotes cf. Men. *Asp.* 290 οὐθὲν ποήσας προπετὲς οὐδ' ἀνάξιον; Eur. *Hyps.* fr. 757.885 οὐκ ἀνάξιος γὰρ εἶ.

7 ἐτ]έροις e.g. Then τήν ἐμ[ήν is likely but not certain.

8] κ'. The apostrophe probably signals elision. In view of οὐκ in 6, οὐ]κ' might be considered (see *GMAW*² p. 11), but the scribe does not use the apostrophe in such cases elsewhere (here in 6; **2329** 2, 6).

9 E.g. ἄμ]αχόν ἐστι (WBH).

10] των or] γων. Then τραπ[suggests τραπ[εζ-, or a middle or passive form of τρέπω.

11 E.g.] δέ μου,] δ' ἐμοῦ or the like.

N. GONIS

5187–5189. 'MIMES'

'Mimoi' as performers figure regularly in festival programmes; see **XXXIV 2707** and **5215–18** below. 'Mimes' as texts have also turned up among the papyri; the classification is editorial, and covers a fair variety of mini-dramas, some monologues, some plays. Such performances, however ill-defined the genre, were wide-spread in the Greek and Roman world, but few actual texts survive, partly no doubt because they had no place in the literary canon, partly because such pieces tended to be fugitive and sketches for improvisation.

Relevant papyri are collected in I. C. Cunningham, *Herodae Mimiambi* (Teubner, 1987) 36–61; add now **LIII 3700** (MP³ 1745.01), P. Col. inv. 546A (*ZPE* 145 (2003) 60–66; MP³ 2436.02), P. Yale II 111 (MP³ 2436.01), **BKT X 13** (MP³

2436.001). Doubtfully assigned to the genre: P. Mich. inv. 3793 (MP³ 2629.1), O. Florida inv. 21 (MP³ 2118.01), P. Köln VI 245 (MP³ 1965.41), and LXX 4762 (MP³ 2630.01) as interpreted by M. L. West, *ZPE* 175 (2010) 33–40.

Of the new pieces published here, **5187** offers a metrical monologue, the lament of a woman in distress, similar to the famous *Fragmentum Grenfellianum*. **5188** contains drama, part at least in trochaic tetrameters, the characters identified by numerals and abbreviations similar to those in the *Charition Mime* (III 413). Both these are copied on the back of used papyrus. **5189**, a codex-leaf, bears an even stronger likeness to *Charition*, in layout and vacuous vulgarity, but seems to be not a script, but a kind of narrative story-board, which specifies at length the movements of the characters and sometimes quotes their words. **5187** and **5188** date from the first/second century; **5189** shows the genre continuing in the sixth century, roughly contemporary with the acting career of the Empress Theodora (Procop. *Secr. Hist.* 9.13–14). If we adopt Plutarch's classification (*Qu. Conv.* 7.8 = *Mor.* 712D–F), **5188** would count as *ὑπόθεσις* (drama), **5189** among the *παίγνια πολλῆς γέμοντα βωμολοχίας καὶ σπερμολογίας*.

For the *Mime* in general, see H. Reich, *Der Mimus* (1903); H. Wiemken, *Der griechische Mimus* (1972); E. Fertl, *Von Musen, Miminnen und leichten Mädchen* (2005); R. Webb, *Demons and Dancers* (2008); G. Tedeschi, *Intrattenimenti e spettacoli nell'Egitto ellenistico-romano* (2011). The *Fragmentum Grenfellianum*, now P. Dryton 50, has been re-edited with commentary by E. Esposito (2005), *Charition* (413) by S. Santelia (1991), *Charition* and *Moicheutria* by M. Andreassi (2001). For the fragments of Roman *mime*, see M. Bonaria, *Romani mimi* (1965); C. Panayotakis, *Decimus Laberius: The Fragments* (2010). Various aspects are discussed in P. Easterling, E. Hall (edd.), *Greek and Roman Actors* (2002); E. Hall, R. Wyles (edd.), *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime* (2008). P. Berol. 13927 = Cunningham no. 15 (MP³ 2437), an exceptionally interesting list of acts and props assigned to the fifth or sixth century, has been further discussed by Tedeschi, *Pap. Lup.* 11 (2002) 136–7, 182–4 (whence the text in SB XXVI 16648), and in his *Intrattenimenti* as document no. 75.

5187. MONODY

50 4B.34/A(1–3)b

fr. 2 6.2 × 21.8 cm

First/second century
Plate II

Fr. 2 preserves the lower part of a narrow column, with nineteen lines of text and a lower margin so deep (8.3 cm) as to suggest that this was the end. Fr. 1, to judge from the pattern of vertical fibres, gives line-ends from the upper part of the same column; and, as Dr Henry observes, this is confirmed by a second layer of vertical fibres overlapping the first, whose edge can be seen c.2 cm in from the right-hand edge in both fragments (perhaps a *kollesis*, but one with four layers). Fr. 3, to

judge from the line-spacing, could have stood to the left of fr. 1 and provided the first letters of four of its lines, but nothing in the fibres or the text confirms this. The text was written across the fibres on the back of an account or register of grain (amounts in choinikes); fr. 1 recto begins with a blank line which might represent an upper margin, but fr. 2 has no clear lower margin, so that the original roll will have been taller.

A line contains 9–13 letters, 3.5–4.8 cm; left-hand margin, c.0.5 cm, right-hand c.1 cm. If fr. 1 does fit above fr. 2, the roll had a minimum height of 28 cm; on a normative range of 25–33 cm (W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (2004) 141–3), not much is missing. The lateral margins look quite trim, which suggests that we are dealing with an independent strip, not a fragment of something larger. In that case the text must have been complete in a single column. Allowing for an upper margin of 1.5 cm, we could assume 14 lines at maximum lost above fr. 2.1, of which 10 survive on fr. 1.

The script is a graceless semi-cursive (β in the open-topped form), assignable to the later first/early second century. The amateurish hand, and recycled papyrus, suggest a private copy or composition. No lectional signs are visible; unmarked elision in fr. 2.15; iota adscript missing in fr. 2.3 and 17. In fr. 1.2, and probably fr. 2.4, letters are deleted with a decisive horizontal stroke, which serves also as a space-filler; space at line-ends can be filled with a simple horizontal (fr. 1.6), or by extending the final letter. Abbreviation (or correction?) in fr. 1.1^b. At fr. 2.4 the cancellation of the final letter may aim to start the next word (or colon) on a new line.

In the part continuously intelligible a woman (fr. 2.11–12) declares herself faithful to her true husband, in spite of an abusive command (14–16) to enter a second marriage. The 'I' does not give her name, or any indication whether the background is mythical or everyday. If the former, the speaker might be Penelope, rejecting a suitor, or Helen, repelling Theoclymenus, or Andromache, refusing Pyrrhus, and doubtless much else. It is not clear whether the first husband is dead, or simply missing. A reference to 'mother', if that is to be recognized in fr. 2.2–3, would limit the possibilities.

These lines bear a clear likeness to the *Fragmentum Grenfellianum*, P. Grenf. I 1 = P. Dryton 50 (MP³ 1743), copied on the verso of a contract dated 10.X.174 BC (P. Dryton 11). Others of similar type include a *Lament of Helen* (P. Tebt. I 1 (MP³ 1606) = *Coll. Alex.* p. 185), and dialogue form in the Marisaeum Melos (ibid. p. 184, with *ZPE* 126 (1999) 81–2) and P. Lond. Lit. 52 (MP³ 1747).

The genre of *FG* has been much debated; see the edition of E. Esposito (2005) 19 ff. Normally speaking it has been taken as a dramatic monologue, descended from those of later Euripidean tragedy, and classified under the general heading 'mime'. Clearly there is an old tradition of female characters in tragic monologues: Simonides *PMG* 543 is an early example, and Theocritus *Id.* 2 may relate to that tradition as well as to the 'women's mimes' of Sophron. Aristoph. *Ran.* 1339 ff.

parodies the Euripidean monody, a passage taken up in the 'mime' Π 219; LXX 4762, as interpreted by M. L. West, *ZPE* 175 (2010) 33–40, gives the same type a pornographic twist. How they would have been described, it is difficult to know, given the variety of solo performances attested for the Roman period (Cunningham, *Herodas* 5 ff.; West, *ibid.* and *Ancient Greek Music* (1992) 376–9); the text by itself cannot show whether the soloist sang, or acted while singing, or sang while others mimed.

The *Lament of Helen* shows a simple systematic (cretic) metre. The *Fragmentum Grenfellianum* is written out as prose, but divided into sections by paragraphi and into cola by double points; these cola are mainly dochmiac, but with a strong admixture of iambic/cretic and anapaestic/dactylic elements (West, *Greek Metre* 149). 4762 may be metrical in part, with two lines in simple iambic trimeters (a parodied quotation?). 5187 fr. 2, similarly written as prose, shows carefully organized variations on an anapaestic/cretic base; see below p. 19.

Fr. 1

] . ο ς δ δ̄
] . ρ α [α .]
] . α δ ε ς . .
] α μ ε ν ε ι
 5] λ α β ε τ ο ν
] . τ ω —
] α ν α π ο π ο .
] . ν
] . μ ε
 10] . α ν .

Fr. 2

ν α ξ ε . [. . .]
 κ ρ ε ι ς . [] . [] .
 τ ρ ι μ ε . [] . υ γ ρ α
 χ η ρ ο ν . [] ο ν [α]
 5 α γ ν ο ν α [] υ ς α ι
 . . . α ι ς π α ρ α π α ς
 τ α ς ι μ ε ν ε ι ν
 ε ν υ β ρ ι ς μ α γ α
 μ ω ν ι δ ι . ω ν

ν α ξ ε . [. . .]
 κ ρ ε ι ς . [] . [] .
 τ ρ ι μ ε λ υ γ ρ ᾶ
 χ ῆ ρ ο ν β [ι] ο ν
 5 ἄ γ ν ο ν ἄ [ν] ὕ ς α ι
 ἦ ς α ἰ ς π α ρ ᾶ π α ς -
 τ ᾶ ς ι μ ἔ ν ε ι ν ,
 ἐ ν ὕ β ρ ι ς μ α γ α
 μ ω ν ἰ δ ι κ ῶ ν .

10	ενοσειμιτα λαιναγαμε τικενοσηλυ θαπροσλεχος εγωτικελευ	10	ένός εἰμι τά- λαινα γαμέ- τις, ένός ἤλυ- θα πρὸς λέχος ἐγώ. τί κελεύ-
15	ομαιτιδυβρι ζομαικυκπρις εδωκεμ . . ονω διγαμονλεχος αρνούμαι	15	ομαι; τί δ' ὕβρι- ζομαι; σοὶ Κύπρις ἔδωκέ με μόνω; δίγαμον λέχος ἀρνούμαι.

Fr. 1

1] ., lumpy upright, sloping slightly from left to right, horizontal at top extending to right (c?)
 2] ., ink in lower part of writing space 3] ., ink at line level, then end of sloping horizontal
 joining stubby upright near top; long median horizontal crossing sloping upright, τ or rather †?
 c . ., apparently β or κ, then η 6] ., tip of horizontal or oblique level with letter-tops (unless
 part of following τ) 7 ο ., κ with a flourish to right? damaged μ? 8] ., lower right-hand
 oval, ο or ω? 10] ., upright and high horizontal extending to right, as of τ or damaged τ ν .,
 vague traces, perhaps accidental

Fr. 2

1] ., upright joining high cross-bar (τ, π) 2 ς ., perhaps left-hand arc 3 ε ., [
 trace or thickening at the end of the cross-bar of epsilon?] ., foot of oblique descending from the
 left 4] ., upright traces on edge [α] ., apparently alpha crossed through with a horizontal
 stroke which, extending to the right, serves also as line-filler 6 . ., see comm. 9 ιδι ., see
 comm. 17 μ . ., see comm. on 16

Fr. 2

' . . . (It is) better . . . to live out (my) bereft life in chastity than to stay in your bed-chamber,
 a violation of (my) proper marriage. Miserable me, I am the spouse of one man only, I came to the
 bed of one man only. Why am I being commanded? why am I being insulted? Did Kypris give me to
 you alone? I refuse a bigamous bed.'

Fr. 3

. [. . .]
 ο [. . .]
 c . [. . .]
 . [. . .]

Fr. 3

1] ., upright crossed by rightward horizontal at top, foot of oblique sloping up from left to right
 3] ., lower left-hand arc? 4] ., tall upright set well in from line-beginning (.] ; or e.g. φ?)

Fr. 1

In lines 3-7 4,4-5 letters lost to the left.

7]αναποπο. : the last letter looks most like κ, but that leads only to the rarely attested πόκτος, which would in any case be misdivided. Perhaps πομ|[π- or ἀποπομ|[π-.

Fr. 2

1 ἀ]ναξ is one of many possibilities.

2 κρείσσ. [] . [] : the first trace is part of an upright or flattened curve on the edge; then beyond the break, ink on the line, oblique foot below the line, ink on the line. Presumably κρείσσ[ν] or (if the second trace belongs to this) κρείσσον. If we then read ἦ in 6, κρείσσον (ἔστιν) may govern infinitives in 5 and 7.

2-3 Perhaps κρείσσον μη|τρί με λυγρᾶ, the reading of μη very speculative. We must then explain the simple dative, since it seems difficult to anticipate the παρά of 6, or assume a corruption (cδν omitted after -cov). 'It is better for (my) sad mother that I should live out my life as a widow'? This has the disadvantage of introducing a secondary argument for her refusal; elsewhere she stays with the single thought that any second marriage would be bigamous. 'It is better for (me as) a sad mother . . .' would be more to the point, but με seems to exclude this reading.

3 λυγρᾶ: commonly of things, 'baneful', and so in the Cyclops' view of his attackers (*Od.* 9.454), but of persons also in epic ('weakling' in the fight, *Il.* 13.119, 237) and tragedy (Aesch. fr. 361, a feeble old man; *Soph. Ant.* 823 Niobe's 'most miserable' death). Opp. *Cyn.* 2.361 λυγρῆν . . . μητέρα, the wild goat about to lose her young.

4 χῆρον β[ε]λον: of β only upright traces on the broken edge, but the space requires a short word. For the syntagm compare Posidon. fr. 45 Theiler (Strab. 7.3.3) ἡγούμενον ἡμιτελή τινα βίον τὸν χῆρον (life separated from women); SEG 38.754 (III BC: life bereaved of a child); and the traditional curse on those who vandalize a tomb, ὀρφανὰ τέκνα λίποιτο (*sic*), χῆρον βίον, οἶκον ἔρημον (e.g. Kaibel, *Ep. gr.* 406 = RECAM 4.K31; most recently MAMA XI 269, where the editor refers to L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* V 709-15, and J. Strubbe, *ΑΠΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΥΜΒΙΟΙ* (1997) 289-92).

5 ἀγνὸν ἀ[ν]ύσαι. β[ε]λον . . . ἀ[ν]ύσαι fit together; see e.g. Jos. *AJ* 7.93 γηράσαντος καὶ μακρὸν ἀνύσαντος βίον. If we take ἀ[ν]ύσαι as infinitive, something must govern it, probably 2 κρείσσον; then ἀγνὸν further qualifies β[ε]λον, 'It (is) better to live out (my) bereft life in chastity'.

6 ἦ καί: η represented by a short convex upright on the edge; the first c by a horizontal, which joins a at the top of its loop, with more ink below, complicated by damage to the surface. Not e.g. ν]έαις (the top of the semi-cursive epsilon always dips sharply before joining the next letter). ἦ seems useful to firm up the syntax, although it introduces the only hiatus in the piece; καί must be addressed to the suitor, perhaps the ἀ]ναξ recognisable in 1.

6-7 παρὰ παστάσι. The same phrase *SLG* S473 i 8 (broken context); *Coll. Alex. Ep. Adesp.* 9 iii 12 νύμφην παρὰ παστάσιν ἀνδρὶ ποθητήν; SEG 51.1720.9 παρθέ|νον αἰνόμορον παρὰ παστάσι φονευθ[ε]|σαν (= Merkelbach-Stauber, *SGO* II 11/08/04), Amaseia, 'Roman imperial period'. For the narrower meaning 'bridal chamber', Antiph. *AP* 9.245.1 θαλάμων ἐπὶ παστάσιν.

8 ἐνύβρισμα rather than ἐν ὕβρισμα. The two examples of the noun in literature (Plu. *Mor.* 350c, Jos. *VJ* 210) both mean 'something on which hybris can be practised by others'. Here presumably in an active sense, 'something that outrages'; ἐνυβρίζειν often refers to the violation of women (*Sopat. RG* VIII 109.10).

9 ἰδι. φν. The omega seems to be corrected at its left, perhaps from an original omicron. Perhaps ἰδικῶν 'my own marriage', though κ is not an obvious reading. This form of ἰδιος makes its literary appearance in the second century AD, prospers in Byzantine prose, and survives into MGr in the sense 'one's own'.

11-12 γαμέτις: a rare word, attested in *AP* 5.180.3 (Meleager) and various elegiac epitaphs

ranging from II BC to II AD (SEG 9.190.10, Cyrene; CIRB 130.22 [GVI 1989.20] and 131.10, Pantikapaion; SGO IV 18/14/01.4, Sillyon; SGO I 05/01/32. 6 [GVI 1879.6], Smyrna).

12-13 ἦλυθα. The intrusion of first aorist endings into the strong aorist ἦλθον is familiar in documents from hellenistic times onwards, as also in LXX and NT; see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 340-41 for examples contemporary with the copying of this papyrus. Here, however, the same happens to the poetic form ἦλυθον. TLG gives examples from Romanos and from Byzantine prose (and ἐπήλυθα in the anonymous hexameter riddle *AP* 14.44), but the form appears earlier in the verse inscriptions SEG 31.821.1 (Akrai, II/1 BC), GVI 1021.4 (Rome, I/II AD), 1144.6 (Caria, II AD?), 1544.2 (Egypt, 'imperial period'). 'Zonaras' col. 654 quotes the start of *Il.* 3.184 with εἰσῆλυθα in place of εἰσῆλυθον.

16 coi: cv pap. Since the nominative, or indeed vocative, pronoun seems not to fit the grammar, I have taken it as a phonetic misspelling of coi. There are two difficulties. (i) This phonetic confusion certainly occurs in documents of the period, but it seems unexpected for a scribe who otherwise spells well. (ii) καί in 6 refers to the would-be new husband; yet coi here most naturally refers to the original love. I have therefore taken 16-17 as an indignant question: 'was it to you alone that Kypris gave me?' But of course, in a staged piece, the change of reference could be clarified by action.

18 δίγαμον. For the sense 'bigamous' *DGE* refers to Manetho 5.291 and Vettius Valens 387.20.

19 ἀρνούμαι. *Od.* 1.249 (Penelope) ἦ δ' οὐτ' ἀρνείται στυγερὸν γάμον . . .

Metre

In the scheme suggested below, verse end coincides with word end; it may be marked by hiatus (*b-c*, if ἦ is correct) or *brevis in longo* (*e*). The commonest colon is ~~~~~, attested also in *Fragmentum Grenfellianum* 15 and 36, where the general context, and especially the parallel ~~~~~ (7-8), encourage analysis as anapaestic metron + cretic. On these lines, we could see *d* (closing sentence) and *i* (closing the poem) as contractions of this colon to a simple tripod; *g* contracts its anapaestic metra still further; *h* returns to ~~~~~ and expands it.

κρείσσον μητρί με λυγρᾶ	]-----	a
χῆρον βίον ἀγνὸν ἀνύσαι	-----	b
ἦ καί παρὰ παστάσι μένειν	-]-----	c
ἐνύβρισμα γάμων ἰδικῶν.	~~~~~	d
ἐνός εἰμι τάλαινα γαμέτις,	~~~~~	e
ἐνός ἦλυθα πρὸς λέχος ἐγώ.	~~~~~	f
τί κελεύομαι; τί δ' ὑβρίζομαι;	~~~~~	g
coi Κύπρις ἔδωκέ με μόνω;	~~~~~	h
δίγαμον λέχος ἀρνούμαι.	~~~~~	i

P. J. PARSONS

5188. MIME

48 5B.30/E(1-2)b

fr. 1 16.7 × 13 cm

Second century
Plate III

A group of fragments, of which all but two combine to give remains of two columns, written across the fibres. The other side (original recto) contains three part-columns, written with the fibres, in a neat round hand of the second century; intercolumnium c.2 cm. This text, a prose work concerned with hellenistic history or tactics and related to Diod. Sic. 19.42.6-7, will be published in a later volume.

The copyist of **5188** writes a neat but informal hand with occasional ligatures (*αι, ει*), the letters well spaced. *ο* suspended, *ι, ρ*, and *φ* with long descenders sometimes reaching the line below; *c* flat-topped and extended at word-end; *γ* both *Υ* and *V*. Compare for example **X 1231** (*GMAW* 17), Sappho, and among objectively datable examples, P. Lond. I 110 (*GLH* 18a), a horoscope of the year 137, and assign to the second century. If the proposed reconstruction of fr. 1 ii 7-8 is correct, a line held up to c.25 letters. No clear margin survives, except for an intercolumnium of c.1 cm on fr. 1.

Lectional signs are rare: apparent high stop fr. 1 i 14?, ii 6? (twice), 7, 14?, possible dicolon fr. 1 i 8; elision marked fr. 1 i 9, fr. 3.3, *scriptio plena* fr. 1 ii 6 and also 8 (where metre requires *καὶ ἐπ-* to be taken *in crasi*). Iota adscript omitted fr. 1 ii 8; itacism fr. 1 ii 4 (twice), *αι* for *ε* fr. 1 ii 2?, 15? General punctuation by ecthesis (first line of each speech) and by blanks within the line. The correction in fr. 1 ii 2 is apparently due to the scribe himself.

Fr. 1 clearly comes from a drama, in which the characters are designated by alphabetic numerals: *α, β, δ, ε*, plus *αρχ()* (fr. 1 ii 12?, 17). These designations sometimes have a bar suprascript or to the right, as would be normal in numerals. But those in the left-hand margin of fr. 1 ii, except for 16 (no bar) and 18 (normal bar), have a bar that extends substantially to the left and sometimes (9 and 10) touches the letter-top. If this is not a simple exuberance, these strokes may have a second function as paragraphi.

This 'algebraic' system is attested for all classes of drama: tragedy (**XXVII 2458**, Euripides; see *GMAW*² no. 32 and p. 149 n. 63); New Comedy (**PSI X** 1176 etc.; see Austin, *CGFPR* 255 n.); and mime (**III 413**, *Charition*, and elsewhere; **5189** below). For details see T. Gammacurta, *Papyrologica Scaenica* (2006) 7 ff. and 240-47; and on similar notation in MSS of Plautus and Terence, E. J. Jory, *BICS* 10 (1963) 65-78, K.-U. Wahl, *Sprecherbezeichnungen mit griechischen Buchstaben in den Handschriften des Plautus und Terenz* (1974). Among these, *ε* appears only in **413** and P. Berol. 13876 (MP³ 2436, Cunningham no. 12), both texts of mime; see Wiemken 107-9 for an attempt to reconstruct a mime-troupe of seven players plus chorus. **5188** does not

have the elaborate musical stage directions of **413**, but *ω̄* at fr. 1 i 5 might be taken as *ω̄δ(η)*.

Within the text we find a vocative *παί* spoken by *A*, and perhaps an answering *μ[ήτηρ* (fr. 1 ii 9); and later *ἐταίρε*, spoken by *B* (fr. 1 ii 11). That suggests two pairs of characters, mother and child, man and comrade: *A* designates the mother, and it could be argued (see commentary) that *Δ* designates the child, *ε* the comrade. For *A* playing the female role, compare **413** and P. Lond. Lit. 97 (Cunningham no. 10). In 6-8 and 9 *A* seems to have two speeches consecutively: probably stage-business, i.e., the epiphany of Dike, intervened.

The text is set out as prose, but the most intelligible part certainly consists of trochaic tetrameters catalectic. That metre played a substantial part in New Comedy (e.g. Men. *Dysc.* 708-83, *Pk.* Act II, *Sam.* Act IV, *Sic.* 110 ff.), but had little currency in later literature; see West, *Greek Metre* 160, 182. It resurfaces in the finale of *Charition* (98-100, 103-4, 106), where the company rush to escape and the heroine appeals to the goddess for help. Similarly in **5188** the tetrameters structure a tragic (or paratragic) appeal to Dike, which also suggests the resolution of a dangerous situation.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the important contribution of Dr W. B. Henry to the decipherment and interpretation of this piece.

ψαι καὶ βλε[π]ε[...].ν.[
 ᾱ δαίμονες· κα[...].το β[
 15 ε[...].ρεται[...].ζή.[
 ζή[...]. ᾱ το[...].ικκ[
 αρ^x c[...].λοιπον[...].υτω[
 ᾱ ζ[...].υτ[.
]ου[
 20].[

"... judge piety, [for this is what saves] mortal men." A. "Greatest Zeus and Justice, holy deity, now [show yourselves!] Goddess, I thank you as [you appear] and help (me)." A. "Child, do you see?" D.(?) "Yes, [mother]." A. "Truly the goddess saves the pious." B. "Comrade, do you see?" ...

Fr. 1 col. i

5 δ̄. The suprascript δ might belong to an addition or correction; or it might combine with ω as an abbreviation of ῶδ(ή). For this abbreviation (of standard form) see 5203 below. If rightly expanded, the word could be taken as a stage direction, equivalent to the *XOPOY* of New Comedy, for a sung interlude (choral or solo) whose words are not recorded. But we might expect, if that were its function, to find it set off from the text by spacing or lineation.

6]αλε κατ' ὀμμάτων. []. After -ων a point level with letter-tops, and well below the line another apparent trace, very thin, sloping down from right to left. Only ρ and φ have long enough descenders, but this stroke seems too slanting for either; if both traces belong to λ or χ, the letter was unexpectedly large.

κατ' ὀμμάτων rings literary both as a word and in construction (Eur. *Hipp.* 525-6 "Ἐρωσ Ἐρωσ, ὀ κατ' ὀμμάτων / στάζων πόθον, apparently imitated in PGM 4.2599, 2661).

7 E.g. οἴσθα τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. ἁμαρτία and δίκη/Δίκη (ii 7) often appear in the same context. This phrase might end an iambic or trochaic verse; so might κατ' ὀμμάτων in 6. To judge from col. ii, one line would be long enough to take all or most of an iambic trimeter, but not a trochaic tetrameter as in ii 3-8. If we ignore the unexplained traces at the end of 6, 6-7 might combine in a tetrameter, e.g. β]άλε κατ' ὀμμάτων [ὀμίχλην· οἴσθα τὴν ἁμαρτίαν (WBH).

A little after the end, a triangular blot: a clumsy alpha? an attempt at punctuation?

8]δει πατερας: (-)δει πατέρας rather than δ' εἶπα τέρας?

9 -ν ἦπιον? νήπιον?

ζωτ': ζ apparently begins a new word. After τ', space for about two letters, perhaps a trace of a third on the edge. The apostrophe (elision mark?) seems to exclude a part of ζωτικός: so e.g. ζώ τ' [ἔτι?

14] .ον.ηβρο[]: after ν a space and probably a high stop. Otherwise θ]εὸν ἢ βρο[τόν would suit the traces.

16]ζε. ας[.]. cχ[: perhaps]σελας[. After ας a space, surface damaged. If this was blank, what follows must be a word-beginning, perhaps ζαχ- with initial diaeresis, perhaps preceded by σέλας. If it contained a letter, e.g. ἔμας [δ]υαχ[ερ- DC.

17]ρ.χθεν[: e.g. π]ραχθεν[, τα]ραχθεν[WBH.

col. ii

1-5 (2-5 all indented) must belong to a single speech. 4-5 compose a trochaic tetrameter cata-

lectic, so there is a good chance that 1-3 were written in the same metre. On a rough count, one tetrameter would occupy 1 and the first part of 2, another the latter part of 2 and the whole of 3.

2 βλ[.]οντ...ε[.]π.χεται[.]. At the beginning, perhaps βλε, cf. forms of βλέπειν in 9, 11 and 13; then a gap. After τ a left-hand arc, perhaps with medial cross-bar, i.e., ε rather than c. βλε[ψ]ον? βλε[π]οντες or βλε[ψ]οντες? At the end, εχε corrected to επε, then χετ rather than χει. I have no ideas except βλε[π]οντες ἐπέχεται for ἐπέχετε: 'look and pay attention', or 'look and stop (what you are doing)?' But the text offers only one other example of this phonetic spelling, and that too uncertain (ii 15 and note); and the resolution in the final metron is rare even in comedy (Men. *Dysc.* 727, *Ph.* 326, *Sam.* 602).

2-3 Assuming that 4-5 contain a complete tetrameter, with four syllables lost at the end of 4, we could reconstruct the verse before as --v-x-]]τὰ τερπνὰ καὶ τὰ φαῦλα [-v-]. There is then a chance that the beginning of this verse overlaps the last surviving letters of 2. E.g. ἡ Δίκη, δι' ἦν]] τὰ τερπνὰ καὶ τὰ φαῦλα [γίγνεται,]] κρινάτω κτλ. WBH, who compares Hes. *Op.* 3-8.

3 τὰ τερπνὰ καὶ τὰ φαῦλα. Elsewhere, φαῦλα stand opposed to καλά, ἀγαθὰ, χρηστὰ and the like. τερπνὰ are ambiguous. They may form a polar expression with φαῦλα, as the nice and nasty sides of life. Alternatively they may be, like φαῦλα, morally dubious (Euseb. *Comm. in Ps.*, PG 24.28B οὐ πάν τὸ καλόν, ἤδη καὶ τερπνόν· οὐδὲ τὸ τερπνόν, πάντως καὶ καλόν· πολλὰ γὰρ ἡδέα μὲν, φαῦλα δέ), and so liable to divine judgment (in 1 Δίκ[η] would be one possible restoration, cf. 7). End e.g. [πράγματα.

4 κρινάτω τῆν: the traces exclude κρινάτωσαν.

4-5 κρινάτω τῆν εὐσέβ(ε)ια[v --x-]ζει βροτούς. -ζει is probably the end of a verb; the singular might apply to εὐσέβεια[v or to the subject of κρινάτω; any restoration has to provide a syntactic connection between the two verbs. So e.g. . . . εὐσέβεια[v ἦδε γὰρ σῶ]]ζει βροτούς; cf. 10; [Epicharm.] 240.2 KA ταῦτα γὰρ σῶζει βροτούς.

6-7 E.g. Ζεὺ μέγιστε ἀγνή τε δαίμ[ον ἐκφανεία]] νῦν Δίκη? Or better, to comprehend both deities, ἐκφάνητε (or ἐπιφάνητε) WBH. In the space after μέγιστε, as more clearly after Δίκη, there is a dot of ink which might be taken as a high stop, unless it belongs to the extended cross-bar of the ε before.

7-8 E.g. εὐχαριστῶ σο[ι παρούση] | καὶ ἐπαρηγούση, θεά. [: θεά (vocative) WBH, rather than θεῆ. The line might end here, with a new utterance (verse) beginning in 9. However, the problem is more complex. A speaks at least as far as θεά; then twice in 9, and again at the beginning of 10. In 9-10 we could provide the expected alternation of speakers by emending the second *nota* in 9; see note there. In 8-9 we could postulate a short utterance in the lacuna at the end of 8. But that leads nowhere. The space is short, hardly more than ten letters, of which five would be needed for the spaced *nota personae*; and in any case such an utterance would be extraneous to the tetrameters on either side. It seems likely, then, that A's invocation in 6-8 and her reaction in 9 were divided by stage business, i.e. the epiphany of Dike.

9 παῖ, βλέπεις; question? Then ναί would make a natural reply, with an answering vocative: μ[ῆτερ WBH, who suggests that the second ᾱ is a mistake for δ̄. That would identify A and Δ as mother and child, and the mother duly takes up the exchange in 10.

If παῖ, βλέπεις; begins a tetrameter, the last metron at least should spill over into the next line. In fact, as WBH observed, 9+10 would fit together as a single verse: A παῖ, βλέπεις; Δ ναί, μ[ῆτερ.] A ὄντως εὐσεβεῖς σῶζει θε[ά. That would leave vacant space at the end of 9: 'Presumably the scribe began a new line because he saw that there would not be room for the extended blank space that marks speaker-change followed by the speaker designation and the beginning of the utterance itself' WBH.

10 ὄντως εὐσεβεῖς. For ὄντως cf. 413 129.

θε[ά, or θε[ός if the moral is expressed more generally (WBH).

11-12 Indented, but less deeply (a single letter-space) than 2-5, 7-8, 13, 15.

11 *ἔταιρε*, *βλέπεις*; [.] *κα*[: the beginning not compatible with a tetrameter: a switch to prose?

Before *κα* the long horizontal and attendant trace suggest a speaker-designation. *A*, *Δ*, and *ς* could all be considered. *A* can be eliminated: if she is a mother (9), she cannot be addressed as *ἔταιρε*. As between *Δ* and *ς*, the advantage of *ς* is that otherwise *Δ* would be asked the same question twice, first by *A* and then by *B* WBH. Then e.g. *κα*[ι] *μάλα* ('yes, indeed', cf. 413 41) WBH.

12 *πoc*... *av*[: The numeral shows that this begins a new utterance, therefore with a complete new word. Perhaps *πόσα ταῦτ*[α].

ap[^χ, cf. 17. A trace of the raised *χ* may be visible.

13 Possible, cf. 5, that *ψαι* ends a word in the line before, e.g. *κέ*||*ψαι* *καὶ* *βλε*[*π*]*ε*[:.

14 *δαίμονες*: followed by a space in which a high stop. This seems to set the word off: because it is a vocative, or a vocative exclamation? The former might address Dike and Zeus; for the latter (an interjection of the same type as *Ἡράκλειος*) see Men. *Asp.* 399 *ὦ δαίμονες*, Opp. *Hal.* 1.702 *δαίμονες*. E. Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address* (1996) 189, notes that the word is 'generally used in true addresses', whereas *θεοί* occurs quite commonly in the interjective function.

ca[: *λ* followed by a trace (foot of rising oblique?) on the line; or perhaps simply *λ*.

15 *ε*[. . .] *ρεταί*[: before *ρ*, *ι* in ligature with a preceding letter? *ε*[*τ*]*αίρε*, cf. 12, would be too short for the space. *χ*]*αίρεται* [., *χ*]*αίρετε*, would make sense if *δαίμονες* is vocative (Cratin. 235 KA, AP 7.420.4, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.41.3). For a phonetic spelling *αι/ε* see ii 2 above, but there is no certain example elsewhere in this text.

ζη[: the last trace is the beginning of an overline, presumably indicating a character-numeral.

17 *ἀρχ*(). Presumably not a proper name, but descriptive of the character's role in the drama, e.g. *ἀρχ*(ων), like *βασιλεύς* in *Charition*, or the performer's place in the troupe, i.e., *ἀρχ*(ιμμος) or its feminine (the Greek word *Plu.* *Sulla* 36.1; *archimimus* Suet. *Vesp.* 19 etc. and inscriptions, *archimima* in ILS 5211 and 5212, both from Rome). For detail see *Brill's New Pauly* s.v. *archimimus*; Fertl 23–5.

At line-end *ο*] *ῥ**τ**ω*[*ς*? (D. Colomo).

P. J. PARSONS

5189. MIME

40 5B.91/E(1) + 46 5B.53/B(1)a ↓ →

20 × 25.2 cm

Sixth century
Plates IV–V

Two fragments combine to give parts of a sheet or codex-page. The page was originally c.20 cm wide, with surviving lateral margins of c.2 cm; the height survives to c.25 cm, with a lower margin of c.3.5 cm. The written area was c.15.5 cm wide, and at least 21.5 cm deep, with at least 31 lines; the width makes it clear that only one column was written per page. If the upper margin was as deep as the lower, we must reckon with a page c.20 cm broad × 28 cm tall, comparable with some aberrants of Turner's Group 4 (*Typology* 16), and there would be no reason to suppose that many lines were lost at the top. But of course there is not enough regularity to support a firm argument. Complete lines of → have 34–5 letters. A separate scrap, on which nothing can be read but] . *ερχ*[: may have belonged to the same manuscript, though the letters seem smaller and less heavily inked.

The script is a sizable sloping majuscule (basic letter-height, 0.3 cm), bilinear except for *φ* and *ψ* and (below the line) *γ*; *ε* and *ς* tall and narrow, *γ* y-shaped,

κ often divided with a gap after the upright, a *φ* whose roundel occupies most of the line-space. The writer makes some contrast between thick and thin strokes, but not enough to match the more stylized versions of this style (see *GBEPP* 28a–b); a more informal version, used by Dioscorus of Aphrodito, is securely dated c.550–70 (*GBEPP* 32a; see L. Del Corso, 'Le scritture di Dioscoro', in J.-L. Fournet, C. Magdelaine (edd.), *Les Archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte* (2008) 89–115, esp. 105–8). 5189 can reasonably be assigned to the sixth century.

There are occasional abbreviations: *τ* for the article *το*(-), see ↓13 n., and final *-τ̄* for *-τος*, ↓27; *κ* with superscript omicron and overline for *κο*(*cc*-), see ↓21 n. At →16 and 23 *εισερχομ* represents *-μ(ένου)*; at →16 *ς* has a small arc above it, at →23 the word is overlined, as also ↓20 and 28 *εξερχ* for *ἐξερχ(ομένου)* and →18 *ακαιρ* for *ἀκαίρ(ου)*, 19 *ακαιρου* in full. Here overlining may emphasize the abbreviation, or simply pick out an important element (as we do by underlining); cf. P. Col. VII 174. In addition it distinguishes the numerals which serve to designate actors/characters. No other lectional signs, except diaeresis on initial *ι* (↓3, 12; →19?), and perhaps / as divider between speeches (→2?). *Scriptio plena* is the norm (↓5, 11, 19, 27; →20).

The scribe observes the rules of syllable-division, but his orthography shows a number of phonetic errors: itacisms everywhere, and also *στηκει* for *στοιχει* ↓6, *νι* for *ναι* ↓15, *εκω* for *εχω* ↓22, perhaps *-ζωντος* for *-ζοντος* ↓27. *-η* not *-ει* in second person singulars like *ἐξέρχη*.

The well-starched handwriting would suggest a high-minded text. But language and content show that we are dealing with a mime, and a prose mime in late Greek. Parallels for the grammar and vocabulary can often be found in the documentary texts of the period, as well as in Byzantine authors and in Modern Greek. So *κύρι(ο)ς*, *φαγί(ο)ν*, *δεύ*, *δίδειν*, *κλάνειν*, *κοκκίζειν*; the Latinisms *φακιάλι(ο)ν* and *βάκλον*; *τίποτε* 'anything'/'nothing'. Note also the exclamations: *ἴδε* repeatedly, *εε* and *φου* (↓16), *av* (→22, 25), *αἰλι* (→25).

In this drama, the numerals *A B Γ Δ E* denote five actors/characters, in addition to *δ ἀκαιρ(ος)*. The system is familiar from the *Charition* mime, III 413, and 5188, although 5189 does not include musical effects: see the introduction to 5188. When the numeral represents a nominative (as in introducing a speech), it has no article; the oblique cases, which occur within the narrative, sometimes have the article, sometimes (where the syntax is clear) not. If we assume that the numeral designates the actor, not the character, we have to reckon with the possibility that one actor took more than one role. It is not clear whether the first person narrator is one of the numbered five, rather than e.g. an *archimimos* or *archimima*, cf. 5188 (certainly not *A* or *B*; see ↓23–4); in places he or she clearly plays the incompetent cook, addressed as *πόρνη* (↓25–6, →9), and at →25 it seems that the cook's lamentation was introduced by a numerical designation, now illegible. *Δ* may be addressed as *αββα* or *νεαββα* (title or name?) in ↓6 and →27; if he is described as

image (a suggestion of DC), it might combine with *κύφοντος* (13); see J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (1982) 165 f., 191 f.; J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (1991) §§277, 361–3.

13] *αυτην*: the spacing and the trace (foot of upright) would allow *ταυτην*.

το(υ): this abbreviation Ϝ occurs frequently in our text. Normally the tau has above it a curving line like a short-mark (\downarrow 13, 21, 27, 28; \rightarrow 16, 20, 29); occasionally the suprascript takes the form of a small circle (\downarrow 27; \rightarrow 12, 25, 27). Assuming that all these represent the same abbreviation, in more or less cursive form, the basic form must be *το()*. In \downarrow 13 and \rightarrow 20 there follows a genitive noun, which suggests *το(υ)*; and that would be consistent with its use before a character-numeral (\downarrow 27 and 28, \rightarrow 16 and 29), since such letters may take the article when context requires it (\rightarrow 18 *του Β*, 23 *τῶ Α*). In \downarrow 21 the grammar suggests the dative *το(ις)*. For parallels see K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca* (1981) 69–70.

κύφοντος: 'the one bending over'? *κύφειν*, rarely attested, replaces *κύπτειν* as part of the flight from consonant-stems, whose conjugation was thought difficult enough to teach in schools. At Aristoph. *Equ.* 365 *ἐξέλεξω σε τῆς πυγῆς θύραζε κύβδα*, the scholiast glosses *κύβδα* with *κύφοντα*. Does this end a clause? or should we take *το(υ) κύφοντος Α* together?

14 *κολλῶντος*, rather than *κολλῶντος*, perhaps followed by a dative; again \rightarrow 15 *κολλῶν αὐτῶ*, 29 *κολλῶντος αυ*. In NT and patristic literature (see Lampe) we find the passive *κολλᾶσθαι* with dative, in the sense 'stick to' something or to a person, e.g. 1 Cor. 6.16 *τῇ πόρνη*; so *Vit. Aesop.* (G) 30 *μή μοι κολλῶ* (LSJ Rev. Suppl.). It would be no surprise to find bodily contact in slapstick, but all forms of the verb in 5189 are active, and in the first two examples there is no obvious space for a reflexive pronoun as object. I can only assume that the writer used *κολλᾶν* intransitively: for comparable usage in medieval Greek, see Kriaras, *Λεξικό s.v. κολλῶ I.B.*

λ [*αρολκίω* *εξία*. I can make nothing of this. *παρολκίω* would be an attested word ('tow-rope'), but the first trace suggests λ or the first half of μ or ν . We expect a dative (proper name?).

ξ *ρηη τρώγεις πίνεις*: 1. ξ *ρηη τρώγεις πίνεις*. This might be a description of B's movements, or the words he utters.

15] *καικλα . . . μα*: perhaps *καὶ κλάγγις* (1. *κλάννεις*) $\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$. *κλάνω*, a thematic substitute for *κλάω* (backformed from aor. *έκλασα*, on the model of *φθάνω*?), continues to be used in the general sense 'break' (TLG, LBG). But it acquires also the limited meaning 'break wind', and by transfer 'express contempt for' (with following accusative): see LBG for the literal meaning in Byzantine texts, and for its use in insult e.g. the splendid rant *Spanos* (Rec. B) 207–8 (p. 165 Eideneier) *πτού σε, γαμῶ σε, ανάχεσμά σε, κλάνω σε καὶ φυσᾶς με*. Both senses subsist in Modern Greek. Here no doubt literal (16 *φοῦ* is the reaction?); cf. *Charition*, where *πορδή* plays a large part. For the spelling in *-νν*- see CGL III 5.13, 147.70–72; for synonyms *E. Αηναίου, Απόρρητα* (1935) 210.

τουμαλακουσεστ: apparently *τοῦ μαλακοῦ*, and then *σεστ* remains to be explained; the spacing does not allow *του[ς] μαλακουσ*. The word might be a name or a description. (i) *Μάλακος* is the slave-confidant in the mime *Adulteress* (413 verso); the name occurs occasionally in inscriptions, not confined to slaves. The definite article here may tell against this possibility. (ii) The adjective commonly means 'effeminate', but in this context we should think of its specialized use (overlapping that of *κίναδος*) as a performer; see Perpillou-Thomas, *ZPE* 108 (1995) 228–9. These are dancers (Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* 668 *ad saltandum non cinaedus malacus aequae est atque ego*), dressed as women. Note P. Hib. I 54 = W. Chr. 477.10–17 (Oxy.; c.245 BC) *ἀπόστειλον δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ Ζηρόβιον τὸν μαλακὸν ἔχοντα τύμπανον καὶ κύμβαλα καὶ κρόταλα, χρεια γὰρ ἐστὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν πρὸς τὴν θυσιαν ἐχέτω δὲ καὶ ἱματισμὸν ὡς ἀστειότατον*; and the list of performances and props in P. Berol. 13927 = Cunningham no. 15 (MP³ 2437), lines 4 and 38–9 *τὸ τῶν μαλακῶν . . . περιζώματα φασκίας*.

σεστ: the 'elision mark' stands above the right-hand end of the horizontal, quite different in shape from the usual Ϝ , on which see 13 n. It cannot represent an elision as such, unless the speaker breaks off. But if it indicates abbreviation, what does it abbreviate? I can only assume that the first c

is a mistaken addition, which leaves *εστ(ι)*. In that case 'Is this the Malakos' doing?', i.e., as a delicate soul, eating and drinking? or as an effeminate, displaying the effects of *εὐρυπρωκτία* (Henderson, *Maculate Muse* §472)? In any case, the reply *νὲ κύρ[ι]* suggests that this clause is a question.

νέ: 1. *νοί*.

16 ξ ξ , cf. \rightarrow 19? The exclamation, familiar in Greek Tragedy, recurs in the mime *Adulteress* (413 verso) 35.

Α *πτύοντο[ς] φοῦ ἐνόσκειν*: A spits, and B comments 'Yuck, he's fallen ill'? LSJ notes Epicharmus fr. 122.4 KA, *φοῦ τῶν κακῶν*, but that looks like a dialect form of *φεῦ*. Here we should recognize a spelling (as also in MGr *φου*) of *φῦ*, an exclamation attested at Aristoph. *Lys.* 295, 305 (by conjecture also *Thes.* 245), Com. adesp. 1147.45 KA, and Terence, *Adelphi* 412. It was thought to mimic an expulsion of breath (schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 294 *φυσᾶ τῶ στόματι*; Suda *E* 2807 *ἐπὶ τοῦ φυσῶντος τὸ πῦρ*). Like English *phew*, it can indicate disgust at a bad smell: see Philogelos §233 *ὄζόστομος κωφῶ ὑπαντήσας ἔλεγε· Χαίρε—κάκεινος εἶπε· φῦ· τοῦ δὲ εἰρηκότος· τί γὰρ εἶπον; ἔφη· ἔβδεσας*, and the widely accepted conjecture at Aesch. *Ag.* 1307–8, where Cassandra reacts to the smell of blood. Similarly Latin *fi/fu* (ancestor of English *fie*) as variously restored in three passages of Plautus: *Cas.* 727 (*foetet tuo' mihi sermo*), *Most.* 39 (*oboluiti alium . . . canem, capram commixtam*), *Pseud.* 1294 (*in os igitur mi ebrius inruclat*?). See J. B. Hofmann, *Latijnische Umgangssprache* (1951) §11.

ἐνόσκειν: Dr Colomo notes that the initial ink could be taken as *i*; the only contrary indication is an apparent cross-bar joining the upright at mid-height. The sense clearly favours *e*, which requires us to assume that the apparent diaeresis is accidental or misused (cf. XXVII 2455, where it appears promiscuously on any initial vowel).

δεῦ σοι: the singular of *δεῦτε* appears occasionally in documents (*DGE* lists X 1297 15, SB XVI 12473.7, 12943.3; at 1297 15 and LVI 3855 10 editors correct to *δεῦ(ρο)*, perhaps wrongly). TLG produces a number of patristic examples; note Leontius, *Vita Joannis Eleemosynarii* p. 354 *δεῦ εἰς τὸ πλοῖον*, p. 370 *Δεῦ, κύρι Ζωῖλε, ἀγόρασον ἓνα δοῦλον*. At this stage *δεῦρο* functions as a verb, 'come on'; see D. Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque* (1943) 7 n. 2. *σοι* dative of interest? or l. *σύ*?

εἰς τοκαπ: *τὸ καπ[η]λ[ε]ῖον* would make a likely place to go for provisions. The initial letters of 17 are blurred, but *εἰς τὸ καπ[η]λ[ε]ῖον* seems not to fit, since the final trace strongly suggests *υ* (WBH).

17 *καί*: before this 'a long supralinear bar: an abbreviation within the speech rather than a character letter?' WBH.

σοι: dative of interest? or for *σύ*, cf. 16.

μαγρ[ι], 1. *μαγει-*. After ρ], room for one normal letter or two narrow. The context would suggest *μαγρ[ι]κά*, which might refer to cooking utensils (Athen. 4.169b etc.; P. Turner 51.1–2) or to cooking ingredients (as clearly in the shopping list SB VI 9245.3). However, the mangled ink at the beginning of 18 does not allow *κα*; it looks most like *εξβα*. Alternatively, try *μάγρ[ο]υ*, 'buy yourself a cook' (in the slave market), to replace the one whose cooking is elsewhere criticized (26 etc.), cf. \rightarrow 28–9 *μά[γ]υρον*. The professional chef looms large in Comedy: see *RE* s.v. *μάγειρος*; H. Dohm, *Magiños* (1964); J. C. B. Lowe, *Class. Ant.* 4 (1985) 72–102 on Plautine variations.

18] *εξβαλ*. . . : perhaps *εξβαλων* (with doubts about ν). Polyb. 4.81.9 *εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν εἰσβαλῶν*. But what then? The traces before the break suggest *e* or *e*. The width of the break seems confirmed by the text on the other side, too wide for the simple *εἰσέρχομαι*, too narrow for $\xi\gamma[\acute{\omega}\ \epsilon]ἰσέρχομαι$.

τίποτε 'anything' (MGr *τίποτε/τίποτα*), again \rightarrow 8. We have a scattering of examples in documentary texts (e.g. LVI 3870 5 *ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ἐσμέν καὶ μὴ ἔχομεν τίποτε προσφάγν*) from the fifth century on, mostly in negative clauses ('nothing'). Psaltes §313 gives a note on the medieval development.

φαγείν: cf. 25 *φαγίν*, \rightarrow 8 and 19 *φαγείν*. In view of the genitive *το(υ) φαγίου* \rightarrow 20, I have taken these as spellings of the noun *φαγί(ο)ν*, 'food', MGr *φαγί*. This form goes back at least to the first century AD (P. Mich. V 246.2 *χωρ(ις) φαγί(ο)ν*), and appears commonly in literary texts from the early

Byzantine period onwards (see Lampe; TLG). The list of items required for a performance, Cunningham no. 15 (5th or 6th cent.?), includes *φαγίν* (34); Hesychius (Cyril) glosses the biblical *ἐδέεματα* as *φαγία*; and *φαγία* appears as a gloss on *pulmentaria* in the Antinoe Juvenal, MP³ 2925 (c.500), line 185. Of course, there was no phonetic difference between *φαγεῖν* and *φαγίν*, and less morphological difference when the anarthrous infinitive could serve as a noun. *εἰς πειν* / *εἰς πείν* occurs regularly in documentary papyri; see H. Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache* (1932) 4; so *εἰς φαγεῖν* P. Hombert II 42.6 and 12 (2nd/3rd cent.), SB XIV 11908.9 (c.260), PSI VII 837.16 (3rd/4th cent.), P. Ross. Georg. V 6.30? (4th cent.). The nominal function becomes clearer when a genitive is attached: XXXIV 2728 31 (c.312-18) *εἰς φαγίν σου*, PSI VIII 953.59 (6th cent.) *εἰς πίν τῶν ἐγκεκλεισμένων*. See in general B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (1973) §850.

The same pairing in *War of Troy* (ed. Jeffreys & Papathomopoulos, 1996; 13th/14th cent.) 9490: (the starving wolf) *ἔταν ἴδη τίποτε φαγίν, τοῦ νὰ ἀρπάξῃ*.

19] . . . τον . ρ . υ [] ον μ . . . After τον (ν perhaps corrected from or to υ), perhaps μ or π, then top and cross-bar of ε; after ρ, parts of a triangle (λ, Δ). Then μον would suit some of the apparent ink, but not all of it. Both trace and space exclude χρυ[ε]ον.

\bar{B} κερμα: the initial kappa doubtful. If rightly read, κέρμα 'cash'!

ἐπὶ ἐκωνων, l. ἐκείνων?

20] . υ . . . τε [] δε: ἴδε? or εἴδε? If the latter, τ must represent a word-end with elision or abbreviation; and in fact a further high trace may point to τ.

τὸ φακιάλιον: φακιάλιον), a Latin borrowing; see S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedik* (1971) 274f.; the glossators give *προσόψιον*, *προσοψίδιον*, *προσωπίδιον* as the Greek equivalents (CGL VI 430). Apparently a napkin or handkerchief used to wipe or cover the face; the *Edictum de maximis pretiis* 26.99ff. and 29.23 lists a variety of qualities, patterned and unpatterned. What is it doing here? If the thread is 'Something to eat—cash', the text might continue 'on them (the others) you can rely. Here is my handkerchief' (as something to be pawned? as a token of recognition?).

21 The abbreviation $\bar{\kappa}$, kappa with omicron superscript and an overline above that, recurs at 27(?), →10, 23, 25, 26. I owe the resolution to WBH, who writes: 'κο() represents κόσος in various cases, most clearly at →10 *δίδικ μ[οι] δύο κό(σος)*, 26 *εἶδε καὶ ἄλλος κό(σος)*. The same interpretation is required at →25 († $\bar{\kappa}$), since *αἰλι* is a response to physical violence, and *εἶδε καὶ ἄλλος κό(σος)* in the next line proves that some violence has already occurred. In † $\bar{\kappa}$, the article indicates an oblique case: perhaps *το(ῆς) κό(σος)* "with punches". That interpretation also fits at ↓21 "*διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐδίρεσ το(ῆς) κό(σος)*;" As for →23 *λέγοντος τῷ Δ μετὰ $\bar{\kappa}$ λαλης*, that remains difficult, but *κό(σος)* is a possibility ("saying to Delta 'λαλεῖς,' with a punch"?). His view is further supported by *κοκκίζωντο(ς)* in ↓27, which picks up the preceding *κο(σος)*.

A, while B is eating, says 'Do you want . . .?' *θέλις*: l. *θέλεις*.

21-3 On the simplest understanding, *κύρι* is used by A to B and by B to A. In that case, 'master' serves as polite address between equals, not to mark the relation of slave to owner. The alternative, as WBH notes, is that a third character is addressed.

22 π . ωμ . [] ικίαλια: in context, *ποιώμε[ν]* suggests itself (subjunctive after *θέλεις*); but there seems too much ink for *οι*, and [ν may exceed the space (then *ποιώμε*, l. *ποιώμαι*?). Then DC suggests *ἴκικια λία* (l. *λεία*), 'fine force-meat' (see Athen. 9.376D for a definition of the un-Attic word, which appears also in documentary papyri from the fourth century on, along with relevant cooks, LXXII 4903 etc.). WBH proposes instead *ποιώμε[ν] οἰκίαν*, then A as character-designation. This takes account of the wider than normal space before the final *α*, and anticipates the phrasing of 23; it would leave us with two consecutive speeches by A, but cf. 18-19.

μ . [] κια οὐκ ἔκω οκρι-: l. οὐκ ἔχω? Before it DC suggests *μο[ε]κία* for *-χια*. That might represent *μόσχια*, glossed as *ἀπαλὰ φυτά*; or *μόσχεια*, 'veal', which would fit the context of delicate meats.

22-3 *οκριδία* (DC) could be read, and then perhaps *εκω* again for *ἔχω*. That would suggest

a contrast: 'I do not have veal, I do have . . .', where the missing item should be another item of diet. If we assume again that κ replaces χ, we might take *οκριδία* as metathesis for *ορχιδία*—a joke on the actor, as well as on his cuisine.

23 ο . [] αν. The trace is a short upright, with no horizontal visible at the top (i.e. not τ or π). ο[κ]αν (WBH) would fit; cf. 22 n. What then would *οικίαν ποιεῖν* mean? 'You play house, I (play) the manly man'?

ἄνδρ . : after ρ, a short upright high in the line. Since we expect *ἄνδρα*, this might be taken as a mark of abbreviation or even elision. But it does look like a (raised) iota, which would limit abbreviations to e.g. *ἄνδρι(άντα)*, *ἄνδρι(κόν)*, *ἄνδρι(σκον)*. So far as it goes, *ἄνδρι(κόν)* might contrast with *μαλακόν* (see 15). The context remains obscure. Does *ἐγώ* belong to this clause, or to a separate clause or utterance? if the former, balancing *εὐ*, should we understand *ποιῶ* from *πο[ε]ίς*, or did a different verb follow in 24?

24 *ἔωσ τῆς ἀγορᾶς*: again (as supplement) →7. What does this mean? In the eating context, it might be part of the drama, going to the market. But if the same character comes straight back, and asks 'Is there something to eat?', it seems not (note that *μοι*, if rightly read at →8, excludes 'There is nothing to eat (in the market)'). Alternatively, we can ask whether this forms part of the stage direction, 'in the direction of the marketplace', which might be (a) a reference specific to the actual place of performance or (b) the conventional designation of one of the exits, whether doors or *parodoi*.

25] . οτε: the trace is an upright, with a vestigial thin horizontal joining from the left, just below the top. The sense would allow at least two different restorations: (i) *λέγεις "ἐν τῇ ποτε φαγίν;" παραθῶ σοι*; (ii) *α.10 κα]ῖ ὅτε φαγίν παραθῶ σοι*. In (ii) *παραθῶ* is subjunctive with *ὅτε*; in (i) it must be taken as a finite verb. The version with *τῇ ποτε* is supported by 18 and →8, and by the trace, which suits π better than ι. (Then *παραθῶ* may exemplify the use of aorist subjunctive in place of the future tense; see Mandilaras, *The Verb* §541.) But there are remoter possibilities, e.g. *εἰσέρχῃ* | [*ἀξιών ἵνα τῇ ποτε φαγίν παραθῶ σοι*].

26 Cf. →9.

27 beginning: *δίδικ μοι δύο] κό(σος)*? Cf. →10.

εἶδε (l. *ἴδε*) οὔτω, 'There, take that'.

κοκκίζωντο(ς): final ο is attached to the right-hand end of the cross-bar of τ; above it a thin but apparently deliberate horizontal, as often for ν at line-end. In itself that suggests *κοκκίζων το(ν)*, the article to be followed in 28 with the number or designation of a character. Yet *κοκκίζων* nominative does not explain † before it. I therefore assume that the scribe intended *κοκκίζοντος*. Two characters are chastizing the cook: while B beats her up (with his hands), the other (*ἐγώ*) joins in with his stick.

κοκκίζειν and the noun *κόσος* (τὸ *ῥάπισμα* Suda) seem to be attested first in Palladius (early fifth cent.), see Lampe; for the doubly aggressive *κοκκοκοπεῖν* see LBG. I have found no example in documentary papyri. To judge from the literary contexts, these words refer to manual violence—poking, hitting, slapping.

28 *δίδω*: cf. →10. Here the verb has no object expressed: for this idiomatic use see DGE s.v. *δίδωμι* A 1.13, and the close parallel in P. Lips. I 40 iii 3 (judicial proceedings, late IV) *ὁ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐκράτησεν, ὁ ἄλλος λίθω δέδωκεν τῷ νύμφ μου, ἄλλος ἐλάκτισεν*.

βάκλω: this latinism (*baculum*) already circulated in Egypt in the sixth century (P. Prag. I 90.12; *βακλίζων* in two letters of the same period), and enjoys wide currency in Byzantine Greek (see LBG).

30 Δ οἶδεν ὁ θεός, ἀποκτένω αὐτ. [α.12
τοσιρο. Ὁρέστην πνέεται. Γ [

3-14 If the supplement in line 9 is correct, α.16 letters lost to the right.

4 κρα[: WBH compares 25 κράζεις, if that is rightly read.

5 δ. . . : probably διὰ τί; (WBH).

ομ[: since this follows a pair of character-designations, perhaps ὁμ[οῦ 'together'.

6 εἶδε: l. ἴδε.

ποιεῖς cὺ τὸ[ν, cf. ↓23?

7 For the supplement see ↓24.

8 ἐνί τίποτε φαγείν; : ↓18 ἔχεις τίποτε φαγείν; cf. 25. ἐνί (ἐνεστι) often refers (without a specific dative of place) to the availability of supplies: already Thuc. 4.8 εἴτου οὐκ ἐνόητος. See e.g. BKT X 13 ii 3 (mime?), P. Oslo III 159.16 (private letter) περὶ δὲ παπύρων ἐνί παρ' ἡμῶν; Gignac, *Grammar* ii 401-2.

At the line-end, α.16 letters are lost (3-14 n.). ↓25 (see note) has only παραθῶ σοι between φαγίον and γεύη. Here there must have been more, e.g. [καὶ ὅτε παραθῶ σοι.

9 For the supplement see 24-5.

10 ἐψησας: the second aorist termination here and in 24 and ↓26, but ἐψησας in →25.

δίδεις μ[οι]: l. δίδεις/διδεῖς from the thematic δίδω/διδῶ, well attested in Byzantine literature and in documents (Gignac, *Grammar* ii 382-3). Mandilaras, *The Verb* §87, argues from MGr δίδω that the present should be understood as a simple thematic δίδειν, although some other forms apparently presuppose a contract δίδειν.

δύο κό(σσοῦ): 'you give me two blows' (box both my ears?)? For this use of the verb, see ↓28 n.

ε[: perhaps ε[ἴδε οὕτω, cf. ↓27 (WBH).

12 ἐπ[ιλόγου το(ῦ) ἔξερχο[μ(ένου)? Would that mean a scene-break? and does this section extend into 13, where τέρπω verb might be uttered by one of the actors (but Τερπώ proper name could also be thought of)?

14 εἰσέρχομαι κλα[: e.g. κλα[ίω (or κλα[ίουσα) καὶ λέγω σοι 'κύρι, ἐλέη]||σον.

15 κολλῶν: see ↓14 n.

κτηθι ανεμαστ[]ε[: κτηθι imperative, rather than l. κτήθει. An utterance by Δ? or much more likely a stage direction to him? For what follows I have no useful ideas. If 16 το(ῦ) εἰσέρχομ(ένου) ends a sentence, we need something to explain the genitive, on the lines of 'and get in the way of the person entering'. A further problem: the last entrance noted (14) is in the first person. If this is the same, why did he not write μου rather than το(ῦ) εἰσέρχομ(ένου)?

16 ἐγὼ ὦδε: 'I act thus?' or 'I stay here' (after κτηθι)?

16-17 ἀναποδ[ι]ζόντων might mean 'making (me) step back' or intransitively 'stepping back'.

17 απτος. Conceivably the (Latin) proper name Ἀπτος, found occasionally in Greek inscriptions (3 examples in *LGN IV* and Va) and more often in Latin (e.g. 4 examples in H. Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen* I 109); at XLII 3054 15 (if the editor's reconstruction is right) the slave Προκόπτων has had his name latinized as Ἀπτος. But why three times? Greek ἀπτός occurs mainly in philosophical contexts, mostly with ὄρατός, meaning 'tangible'. How could that fit here? 'Caught! Caught! Caught!', as one might say in a game of Blind Man's Buff (μυῖα χαλκῆ and variants, Pollux 9.123, Headlam on Herondas ix(a), p. 405)? That would fit ἀναποδίζόντων in the sense 'making (someone) turn back'.

τ[οῦ, or perhaps τ[.

18 ἀκαίρ(ου), again in 19. For ἀκαιρος as a human type, the man who never does what is right for the occasion, see Theophr. *Char.* xii with Diggle's introduction; Herondas 6.80, where Headlam's

note lists other references. I have not found it as a proper name in *LGN*, though it could easily be created as a speaking name; certainly the character has comic possibilities, Alciphr. 3.26.1 ἀλλ' ἐκκορηθείης ὅτι ἀκαιρος εἶ καὶ λάλος. 'The Akairos sits down behind the standing Beta, and Beta, stepping back, trips over him and falls on top of him' WBH.

'γάρ seems out of place in a series of performance directions: perhaps to be emended to παρίζοντος? WBH.

19 [. . .] [. . .]: the initial trace is of an oblique descending from left to right, touching the right-hand tip of υ (unusually close?); λ, γ, κ? or initial ι with heavy diaeresis? or simply the downturned end of the overlining (WBH)? φαγείν should refer to the eater (Δ?) or to the provider of eatables.

εε[: there is no clear trace of a horizontal above the first ε, which would identify it as a character-numeral. Is it the exclamation ε ε, as at ↓16? But a clear trace follows, of what would normally be the last or penultimate letter of the line. Perhaps Ε εἴ[πέ, or better Ε εἴ[δε, beginning the direct speech in 20, 'Look, here's everything' (WBH).

20 πάντα ἀγαθὸν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν σου το(ῦ) φαγίου. Someone (perhaps Ε; see 19 n.) wishes the diner (Δ) bon appétit? But there is the difficulty of concord, unless πάντα (a certain reading: not πᾶν τὸ) ends its clause (εἴ[δε] πάντα.); see 19 n. I have found no clear parallel for what ought to be a conventional usage. The wording recalls Ecclesiastes 2.24 οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώπων πλήν [S: πλήν om. cett.] ὃ φάγεται καὶ ὃ πίεται καὶ ὃ δείξει τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὸν ἐν μόχθῳ αὐτοῦ, a passage widely quoted (with minor variants) in the Fathers.

το(ῦ) φαγίου: see ↓18 n.

κα[ι Δ seems required, although the space is tight: since Δ complains about the food (24), he must be the silent consumer in 21.

21 τρώγοντος ἐξήχως, 'chewing madly'. The adverb is not attested in TLG, but numerous examples of the adjective, which seems to pass from 'uttering loudly' to 'babbling' to 'crazy', see Lampe s.v.

καὶ κωπῶντος: the participle as if from κωπέω. TLG quotes three late examples, and documentary papyri provide evidence for the merger of verbs in -αω and -εω which is complete in MGr: see e.g. Mandilaras, *The Verb* §52(2), Gignac, *Grammar* ii 363-4. This would naturally apply to the crazy eater before, rather than to Ε.

νύκκοτ[ο]ς: 'prodding', 'poking'? But the verb can extend to actual wounding (*Ev. Joh.* 19.34).

22 εἰπέ (so rather than εἴπε): here and in 24 this might be an instruction to the actor, or as WBH suggests a word spoken by him (stage directions are normally phrased in the second person singular indicative, e.g. →9 λέγεις). If the second, Δ eats in silence, Ε nudges him/her and says 'Speak!', Δ replies (λέγοντος picking up εἰπέ), then Β comes in and reacts to Δ's talking (λαλεῖς).

αἶ κύρι καλῶς ἔχει (l. ἔχει): statement or question? As things stand, Ε pokes Δ (if Δ is rightly restored at the end of 20), and Δ replies with αἶ (cf. 25); καλῶς ἔχει might mean 'That's all right' (i.e. 'That's enough?'), or 'Are things all right?' (i.e. 'Why are you doing this?'). Alternatively we could take καλῶς ἔχει as a question about the food, 'Is it OK?', but in that case the character-numeral Δ must be a mistake, and it is not clear why the explosive reply is delayed until 24.

23 μετὰ κό(σσοῦ), or κό(σσω), then λαλῆς, l. λαλεῖς? This could be understood in more than one way. (i) μετὰ κό(σσοῦ) as part of the narrative, Β punches Δ and says 'Are you talking?'. (ii) μετὰ κό(σσοῦ) as part of the speech, Β says to Δ, 'So you talk when you are punched?' (so NG).

24 εἰπέ: probably the first word of the speech (WBH), rather than an instruction to the actor; cf. 22 n. The female character addressed might be Β or Ε, yet both these carry masculine participles; elsewhere Β is addressed as κύρι (↓22), and probably Ε also (→22). This would make them male both as actors and as characters, if the narrator makes this distinction. If this argument holds, πόρνη addresses a third (female) character—unless it is directed to a male by way of deliberate insult.

ψωλοφάγε (also restored in 9): 'Fellatio was a favourite insult in the rich ancient literature of *vetula-Skoptik*' (Henderson, *Maculate Muse* §381; see further Watson on Hor. *Epod.* 8.19–20). For 'eating', see Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* 138–41. The word is new to the lexica.

καλῶς must in context be sarcastic. But, as DC notes, αὐ αὐ promptly returns to direct insult, which may suggest that the scribe simply miscopied an original κακῶς.

25 αὐ αὐ: the sound of a dog barking, Aristoph. *Vesp.* 903 with the scholia and the wonderful list of such doublings in [Theodos. Alex.] *περὶ γραμματικῆς* p. 79.21 Goettling. A single αὐ perhaps in 22. The speaker is barking mad? But note Latin *ai*, a simple exclamation of protest, several times in comedy and doubled *ai ai* in Terence, *Ad.* 336 and Petron. 67.13. WBH observes that it is normally a female exclamation; see J. N. Adams, 'Female Speech in Latin Comedy', *Antichthon* 18 (1984) 43–77, at 54. But is it a male who uses it here and at 22?

το(-) κό(σ-) [] . αιλι Δ [] . ζει. [] . . two clear traces, a small loop at top level, then the top of an oblique descending from left to right. Provisionally I suggest that Δ strikes the woman; then [] (her character-letter) αἰλί, 'Alas!'; then Δ κρᾶζεις; | ἴδε καὶ ἄλλος κό(σος), 'Do you cry out? Here you are, another blow as well'. That leaves a problem with το(-) κό(σ-). As WBH notes, the 'blow' referred to prompts the cry of αἰλί and ἄλλος in the sequel: but how is it attached grammatically?

αιλι was written thus, and I have understood it as the (MGr) exclamation αλι/αἰλί, rather than emending it to αἰαί. αλι remains in use; for the variant αἰλί (descended from classical αἰλιος?) TLG records one example from *Spanos* D and many from the Byzantine *War of Troy*; see further H. Eide-neier, *JÖBG* 17 (1968) 221–9.

26 εἶδε (l. ἴδε) καὶ ἄλλος κό(σος): cf. e.g. Joh. Chrys. *PG* 60.113 ἰδοὺ καὶ ἄλλος πειρασμός. νόνα μου. [: vocative? or continue e.g. ἐ[στ]ιν αὐτή? 'Nonna' occurs regularly as proper name in history (for example, Gregory Nazianzen's mother) and also in the documentary papyri, see for a list P. Athen. Xyla pp. 67–70; in that case μου perhaps belongs, 'my dear Nonna' (a common idiom in MGr, though I have not found an ancient parallel). But sporadic evidence suggests an early common history for MGr *νονά* 'godmother', Italian *nonna* 'grandmother' and English *nanny* 'nurse', within a group of reduplicated 'Lallwörter' which includes also *άννις*, *νάνα(ς)*, *νέννος*, and *νίνα* (Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i 423). Words in this range could describe adult females, other than the mother, who played a nurturing role in a child's life—nurse, aunt, grandmother; and the later use of *νόνα/ nonna* for 'nun' extends this familial sense further. See e.g. J. M. Hanssens, *OCP* 26 (1960) 29–41; F. Skoda, *Le Redoublement expressif* (1982) 192–3; J. Bremmer, *ZPE* 50 (1983) 184–6; O. Masson, *Onomastica Graeca Selecta* iii (2000) 236–8. Here *νόνα μου* perhaps serves simply to address an older woman, perhaps in parallel with the male address *ἄββα*.

26–8 Either E's words continued into 27, and Δ answers the question in 28; or, as WBH suggests, the question comes from a new speaker who takes over in the lacuna at the end of 26, perhaps Γ, since it is Γ who responds in 28. This impinges on the question, whether *νόνα* refers to the woman who cooked badly, or to another female character. The incompetent cook might well be an elderly slave, like Simiche in Menander's *Dyscolus*: Knemon's abuse is less vulgar (588), but Getas anticipates that he might kill her (587).

27 νεαββα, cf. Δ6]αββα. Its position suggests that this is a vocative, whether appellation or proper name. Alternatively, we might interpret νε as ναί, and then ἄββα (ἄββα) as title or less likely proper name. (ναί would most naturally follow a change of speaker, but for the medial position WBH compares Cunningham no. 13.5.) Both here and in Δ6 Δ responds, so he may be meant.

κ. [: the trace is the foot of an oblique rising to the right. Not κ̄.

28–9 E.g. μακάριον ἔχεις τὸν μά]γιρον (l. -γειρον)?

29 κολλώντος αυτ[: probably αυτ[ω (see 15 and Δ14 n.), then perhaps καί and another participle, the whole action provoking Δ to a furious response in 30.

30 οἶδεν ὁ θεός. As an asseveration, common enough in documents from the fourth century

onwards, e.g. LXVII 4628 3, P. Harrauer 49.9 and P. Heid. IV 333.20; a convenient collection of examples in P. Hamb. III 228.8 n. TLG finds a few examples of this usage in patristic writing, but most often the phrase introduces a straightforward statement about divine knowledge.

ἀποκτένω: for this form (avoiding the morphological problems of -κτείνω) see Blass–Debrunner–Rehkopf §73; Psaltes §356; *LBG* s.v.; and LXXXVIII 5155 ii 13 n. But it may be better to take it as a spelling of the future ἀποκτενώ (NG, WBH). At the end, the trace suggests ἀψτό[ν rather than ἀψτή[ν.

31 τοσιρο. : τοσιρος suggested, i.e., perhaps a nominative to πνέεται (not Πε[|]τόσιρος). I guess οἶ[|]τος Ἴρος. Irus appears often in rhetoric as the exemplar of the poor beggarman, but his Homeric original has habits specially relevant to this context: *Od.* 18.1ff. ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ πτωχὸς πανδήμιος, ὃς κατὰ ἄστυ / πτωχεύεσκε Ἰθάκης, μετὰ δ' ἔπρεπε γαστέρι μάρπη / ἀζηχὲς φαγέμεν καὶ πιέμεν, and later he gets into a fight (and loses). A double synecdoche, more elegant than might be expected from this author: 'Irus breathes Orestes' for 'The greedy beggar is behaving like a murdering madman'.

Ὀρέστην πνέεται, 'breathes madness'. A descendant of the classical type that begins with *Il.* 24.364, see KG I 309; with a proper name, *Ἄρη πνεόντων* (Aesch. *Ag.* 376), rejected by many editors but perhaps known to Cicero (*ad Att.* 15.11.1 *Martem spirare*). Orestes typifies madness, as Ares does war: [Pl.] *Alcib.* II 143D, and often in Roman authors. Otto, *Sprichwörter* 177 and 258–9 quotes proverbial references to Irus and to Orestes.

πνέεται: for the uncontracted form see Blass–Debrunner–Rehkopf §89; Gignac, *Grammar* ii 371.

P. J. PARSONS

5190. HEXAMETERS (ARGONAUTICA?)

88/472(a)

Fr. 1 6.6 × 9.6 cm

Third century
Plates VI–VII

A group of 12 small fragments, assembled by Mr Lobel, probably on the basis of the literary script. On one side, presumably the original recto, there are remains of writing along the fibres in two or more cursive hands. Fr. 1 carries a series of entries introduced by L, i.e. (ἔτους), a format that suggests a register or account. The first entry, (ἔτους) λ[, indicates a regnal year so large that it can only belong to Commodus (year 30 = AD 189/90 up to year 33 = AD 192: I am grateful to Professor Parsons for pointing out the relevance of the trace). The traces of the numerals in the next two entries are compatible with, respectively, 1 or κ and λ again, so the list does not seem to have been arranged in chronological order.

The back contains a text in hexameters, written across the fibres, the same way up, in a relatively informal literary hand which could in itself be assigned to the second century, but must almost certainly belong to the third, as the recto suggests. No lectional signs are in evidence, and no example of iota adscript added or omitted; elision goes unmarked in fr. 1.7 and 8. Itacism in fr. 1.8 *ομειλος* and probably fr. 1.6 -ε]λιπτο. A second hand, using a paler ink, has crossed out a letter in fr. 3.2 and in fr. 4.3, where it has also added a correction above the line. A remarkable feature is the line spacing: the distance between one base line and the next is almost

1 cm, leaving a very ample interlinear space. Cf. e.g. L 3533, Menander, *Epitrepontes*, whose hand is vaguely comparable to ours, and the earlier P. Köln VIII 328, with hexameters, both copied on the back of documents: the clumsy writing and the use of space and signs for separating syllables in the latter suggest that this may be a school exercise. (I am grateful to G. Ucciardello for suggesting these examples for comparison.)

The hand is very similar, indeed arguably identical to that of XXX 2513 and LIII 3698; the similarity extends to the size of the letters, despite a clear difference in leading. Each of those pieces offers a single fragment with hexameter lines written on the back of a documentary text. 2513 was probably, and 3698 certainly, found during Grenfell and Hunt's second season at Oxyrhynchus, and there are good arguments for treating them as part of a single roll, see 3698 introd. The subject of 2513 is obscure; 3698 treats Argonautic themes, like 5190. Scholars have noted a strong Homeric tincture in both, and considered attributing them to a known archaic poem, see below pp. 45–6.

Unlike 5190, 2513 and 3698 do generally mark elision, though they omit to do so at least twice (2513 27, 3698 24). The corrections by a second hand in 5190 fr. 3 and 4 mentioned above are paralleled by those in 2513 ('taken perhaps wrongly to be by a different hand' by Lobel; cf. also the letter crossed out in line 32 of that same papyrus). I am not so sure, judging by photographs, that the addition above the line in 3698 15 'is added by the copyist himself', as the editor suggests. The (relatively common) itacistic spelling *ομειλος* occurs in both 2513 27 and 5190 fr. 1.8. There are some noticeable differences between 5190 and 2513 + 3698. (1) In 5190 the letters are less widely spaced and more often ligatured. (2) The document on the reverse of 5190 looks different from those on the reverse of 2513 + 3698. This does not necessarily mean very much, since the recycled roll may have been patched together using more than one document; note, though, that in 2513 and 3698, unlike 5190, the documentary text is upside down in relation to the literary verso. These first two points are not decisive. The most important difference is that (3) in 5190 the line-spacing is nearly double that in 2513 and 3698 (the 9 lines of fr. 1 occupying roughly the same height as 17 lines in 2513 and 3698), a difference far greater than that usually attested within, for example, the book-rolls examined by Johnson, *Bookrolls and scribes in Oxyrhynchus* 56, who mentions the case of 3156 + 3669, with a 17% variation, as exceptional, among the 'aberrant examples'. This implies that 5190, even if copied by the same scribe, does not belong to the same roll as 2513 + 3698. Indeed, the difference even makes it unlikely that our fragments come from a different book-roll of the same poem, as sets of books by the same author copied by a single scribe do not show such remarkable differences in their format (*ibid.* 16–37). The similarity of script, and the possible overlap of subject, however, open up interesting avenues of research, which are explored in an appendix below.

Fr. 1 is the only fragment whose context can be reconstructed to some extent. It seems to describe the organization of an athletic competition, quite probably at Iolkos. The most obvious assumption is that it dealt with the famous funerary games in honour of Pelias, in which most of the Argonauts took part after their return to Thessaly. The possible overlap of fr. 2.3 with a line from the catalogue of the Argonauts in Apollonius Rhodius (1.95) introducing one of the heroes said to have participated later in the Games suggests that fr. 2 may have had a similar context (see commentary), and it is just possible that fr. 4 may have mentioned another of the athletes taking part in the games (see fr. 4.3 n.). Since so little is preserved, the presence of a few words not attested before fifth-century BC prose or Hellenistic poetry (cf. on fr. 1.6 and 8, and on fr. 2.1 and 2; fr. 2.3 might even be interpreted as a borrowing from A.R.) suggests that these are not fragments of an archaic poem. In any case, whenever a sequence of words can be reconstructed, the style sounds fairly traditional with no obvious *recherché* traits.

The funerary games for Pelias were a popular theme in the visual arts at least from the sixth century BC, and featured prominently also on the Chest of Cypselus at Olympia (cf. the description in Pausanias 5.17.9–11). They are referred to frequently enough in mythographic sources, but there are not many explicit references to their appearance in specific poetic texts. A lyric poem on this subject was attributed to either Stesichorus (*PMGF* 178–80) or Ibycus (cf. E. Cingano, *AION* 12 (1990) 191 and n. 8; G. Ucciardello in S. Grandolini (ed.), *Lirica e teatro in Grecia* (2005) 21 and n. 1; parts of XXXV 2735 = Ibycus *PMGF* S166–219 have been attributed by various scholars to a poem by either author dealing with, or at least mentioning these games), and Simonides *PMG* 564 = 273 Poltera mentioned the victory of Meleager in the javelin-throwing contest, quoting Stesichorus and Homer as his predecessors. It has been conjectured that the episode might have been included in Eumelus' *Korinthiaka* (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hellenistische Dichtung* ii (1924) 241–3; P. Von der Mühl, *Kritisches Hypomnema zur Ilias* (1952) 358–9; P. Grossardt, *Die Erzählung von Meleagros* (2001) 60–61; A. Debiasi, *ZPE* 153 (2005) 51–5). But the likelihood that this poem included a detailed narration of the first Isthmian games, featuring several of the same participants, tells rather against than in favour of this hypothesis, especially if we keep in mind that the two events would both come at the end of the expedition of the Argonauts (*contra* Debiasi, loc. cit. 55). An issue possibly to be kept distinct from the previous one is whether, if we accept for the sake of the argument that the event was indeed narrated in the *Korinthiaka*, Simonides may have attributed this poem, so strongly linked to a Corinthian context, to 'Homer' (so again Debiasi, preceded by Von der Mühl), a distinctly unlikely hypothesis, in my opinion. The only piece of evidence connecting the events at Iolkos following the expedition to a poem by 'Homer' is fr. 7 B. = 6 D., attributed to *ὁ τοὺς Νόστους ποιήσας* in the hypothesis to Eur. *Med.* This is the episode of the magic rejuvenation of Jason's father, Aison, at the hands of Medea.

In other sources (cf. *Ov. Met.* 7) this is the necessary premise for the trick she uses for killing Pelias, and it has been debated whether this could actually be compatible with a version of the myth where the Games were held in honour of the dead king, even if both episodes are well attested already in the archaic period (see e.g. Wilamowitz, loc. cit.). How this could be fitted into the *Nostoi* remains mysterious. It has been argued that Medea may have appeared as part of a description of famous heroines in the underworld (e.g. G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* (1969) 165; for the possible presence of an underworld scene in the poem cf. now also M. L. West, *The Epic Cycle* (2013) 272–82). The possibility should perhaps be mentioned that these Argonautica episodes may have been narrated retrospectively in a digressive speech by Nestor, if the tradition according to which he was one of the Argonauts has any likelihood of going back to the archaic period. The only ancient author to include him among the crew is Valerius Flaccus,¹ who is usually credited by modern scholars as the originator of this story. The fact that his brother Periclymenus, who appears in most lists of the Argonauts, is killed by Heracles during the siege of Pylus, when Nestor was only a child (cf. Hes. fr. 35 MW), is thought to be incompatible with this. On the other hand, according to some traditions (including A.R.), Achilles was already born when the Argonauts left and this would certainly make Nestor's inclusion at least chronologically conceivable. A very corrupt scholion on *Pi. Ol.* 13.31a exemplifies the musical and martial glories of Corinth quoting one Eumolpus of Corinth 'who wrote *The Return of the Greeks*'. In the context, the name has been corrected into that of Eumelus since the Renaissance, but, even if this is correct, this is a very flimsy foundation upon which to build the hypothesis that this scholion referred not to the well known poem on the *Nostoi* of the Achaeans after the war of Troy, usually attributed to Agias of Troezen or to Homer (note that *Sud.* s.v. νόστος explicitly attributes the *Nostoi* to more than a single author), but to the portion of Eumelus' *Korinthiaka* dealing with the return of the *Argonauts*, to which also the fragment about Aison's rejuvenation would belong (so Debiassi, *ZPE* 143 (2003) 4 and n. 31).

To judge by language and style, however, it is unlikely that our fragments actually represent the remains of an archaic poem, and it is reasonable to assume that the theme was treated or mentioned in a number of later epic works that may have left no trace in the preserved tradition.²

¹ Nestor is listed among the Argonauts also by Petrarch in his biography of Jason in *De viris illustribus*, composed well before the text of Valerius Flaccus became generally available (I am grateful to C. Malta for pointing this out to me; on the very scanty circulation of Valerius in later antiquity and the Middle Ages cf. A. Zissos, *IJCT* 13.2 (2006) 165–73). Nestor is one of the Argonauts also in the Middle Irish *Togail Troí* (10th century?): B. Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic in Medieval Ireland* (2011) 67 (I am grateful to WBH for drawing my attention to this). This suggests at least the possibility that Nestor's inclusion among the Argonauts might have had wider currency in lost antique sources.

² I am grateful to W. B. Henry for improvements in the interpretation of some traces.

Appendix: on the possible links of 5190 with 2513 and 3698.

The possibility that our papyrus may have been written by the same hand as 2513 and 3698 opens up research avenues that should be at least tentatively explored. In his edition of 2513, Lobel drew attention to its 'indubitable' 'Homeric tincture', but refrained from formulating any hypothesis about its origin. R. Janko, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 25–9, attempted a reconstruction of its content as a description of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, and tentatively attributed it to the *Cypria*, though adding a salutary reminder that there are no criteria 'by which we can distinguish between cyclic hexameters and "bad" late hexameters' (25). 3698, apparently by the same hand and in the same format, seems incompatible with this hypothesis, as it contains a first person account of an Argonautic episode. Haslam, the editor of this latter fragment, mentioned the *Naupaktia* as a possible source, without discussing the problem of how 2513 could fit within that poem. Debiassi, *ZPE* 153 (2005), speculated that 3698 might have been part of Eumelus' *Korinthiaka*, and more recently (*ZPE* 184 (2013) 21–36) has argued that 2513 too (for which he accepts the general lines of Janko's reconstruction) must belong to that poem. The actual evidence that he musters in favour of his conjecture that Eumelus' poem dealt at any length with Trojan themes, however, is very thin at best (fr. 9 Bernabé, not explicitly attributed to the poem, mentions a son of Menelaus and a Cretan nymph), and, while it is obviously impossible to rule out that it did, it remains a very weak candidate for the attribution of 2513 (if this indeed narrated the Iphigeneia episode). The idea that both fragments may belong to the *Korinthiaka* remains an only vaguely possible, but not *prima facie* particularly likely hypothesis. The content of 2513 is very uncertain, but the apparent mention of an Argive female character at line 26 implies a Trojan or, at least, a non-Argonautic setting, and a few clues do suggest that it may deal with winds and sacrifice, while]veia at line 14 favours indeed the hypothesis that this may have to do with Iphigeneia (even if there are theoretical alternative supplements). In a purely hypothetical vein, we may play with the idea that both fragments may belong to the *Nostoi*. 2513 would be from a section providing a flashback about the early stages of the expedition (unless, after all, it was about the sacrifice of Polyxena). 3698, on the other hand, as we saw, is, puzzlingly and interestingly, a first-person account, which, with some good will, could be attributed to a speech by Nestor, reminiscing about his youthful expedition. It is also possible, of course, that both fragments may belong to a 'bad' late poem, though even in that case the link between them would require an explanation (and from this point of view, Debiassi's speculations about marriage and the Black Sea providing a possible link are interesting).

Whatever the right solution for the old fragments, the new ones complicate the picture in an intriguing way. Based on their content alone, it would not be too difficult to attribute them to the same poem as 3698, but, even if we accept the

possibility that they may be by the same hand (and the scantiness of the preserved fragments itself makes this uncertain), their different layout strongly suggests that they were not part of the same book-roll. Indeed, as we saw above, they are unlikely even to be fragments of a different book-roll of the same poem. If, after all, we accept the idea that a single scribe may have produced two different sets of the same work, and that this was indeed an archaic poem, both the *Korinthiaka* and the *Nostoi* would be candidates, problematic in different ways, for the attribution. The linguistic evidence, however, suggests that **5190** is more likely to represent the remains of a later poem, perhaps copied by a non-professional scribe with interests in the Argonautic saga or (especially if **2513** and **3698** do not belong to the same poem) more generically in heroic epic.

Fr. 1

.
] [] ων
] . ω
] . (.) π [.] ν τ ρ
] ν ι] τ ο ς
 5] ν α υ τ α ρ . [. . .] τ α
] η λ ι α . α τ . [. . .] λ ι π τ ο
] δ ε ς μ ε ς ς ο ν α ε θ λ α
] μ ο θ ν ε ι ο ς [.] μ ε ι λ ο ς
] λ λ ι θ η ς α ν [.] ω λ κ ο υ

Fr. 1

1] . , a cross-bar at mid-line level on the edge, perhaps ε ω, [.] ρ also possible 2] . , a puzzling trace: the two lower parts with the right-hand end of an angle on the line and the right-hand end of a small loop strongly suggest β, with the vertical starting higher than the end of the loop; the only other clearly preserved β, at fr. 2.1, and those in **2513** look different; WBH suggests reading Δ with a superscript A small gap at the end, not wide enough for ι 3] . (.) , feet of two uprights, both curled toward right: η rather than ε ι? π [, γ also possible τ rather than π or γ 4] η rather than λ ι . , the upper and lower tips of two oblique or slightly inclined strokes on the edge of the gap: perhaps κ, κ, or η . . . [, tiny scattered traces high and low in the line on largely damaged surface, the last conceivably the top of an oblique 5] ν , traces on disturbed fibres, η only a possibility ρ [, of ρ only the upper part; traces high in the line, conceivably compatible with the upper left part of ε [.] , apparently a cross-bar followed by the lower half of an upright 6 λ ι prima facie more likely than η (first), perhaps the second upright of η or π τ . , τ followed by an upright (perhaps ι, but ρ also possible), or π [, perhaps the upper right-hand part of a round letter] λ , the end of a descending oblique: the shape suggests λ 8 [.] , a narrow space

Fr. 2

1 β, the base is damaged, but there seems to be no real alternative 2] . , upright hooked to right at foot, with a possible dot on the line just before α [, the shape of the curved tail, starting as an upright at the top, identifies this letter as λ (WBH), ruling out λ or μ 4] ε , only the tip of the cap 5 η [, upright and apparently start of a cross-bar at mid-height

Fr. 2

.] α ν εκ β α τ [.
] . ο κ ε ρ α α [.
] π ι η θ ε ν α ρ [.
] ς υ ν η ς ι [.
 5] ο φ η [.

Fr. 3

.] ς ω [.
] τ . . ρ γ [[ε] ι . [.
] . ε ν η ς ο ι [.
] ν ε υ [.] η ν [.

Fr. 4

.] . . [.] ν [.
] ε ι η χ ο λ ο ν [.
] λ α κ [[ε]] ς α ρ ι ς [.
] . . . ε γ α τ ε ς [.

Fr. 3

1] ς much more likely than κ or × ν [almost certain (though fibres damaged) 2] τ . . , first possibly also τ, perhaps preceded or followed by a mark of punctuation high in the line (if the preceding sign belongs to this letter, it may be γ), with space for two (or conceivably three) letters before ρ (damaged but very likely): in the middle of the space, traces of an upright, perhaps with a high horizontal at its right (τ or c?) ε crossed out by an ascending diagonal stroke in paler ink [. , only a speck above the level of the line 3 The second letter has a roundish appearance and apparently has a cross-bar, suggesting ε After ν η ς ο ι a narrow blank space, not wide enough to establish certain line end 4 Of ν only top of left branch

Fr. 4

1] . [. , a trace on the line closely followed by upper and lower arcs of a circle (ο?)] η more likely than κ ι 2 ν [, an upright with a thickening suggesting the start of a descending oblique 3] λ , descending oblique: gradient suggests λ ε crossed out by an ascending diagonal stroke and η added above, both in a paler ink ς [, left part of round letter, not excluding ο or ω 4] . . . , letter tops: first, a high right-hand arc, perhaps e.g. β, ρ, ζ: these would be taller than usual, but cf. on fr. 1.2 for a possible tall β; next, the start of a descending oblique, slightly lower, then the top of a taller upright, perhaps with traces of a rounded portion just where the papyrus breaks, or (more probably) the slightly curved and thickened top of a descending oblique: the last two may belong to a single μ

Fr. 5

.] δ ι δ α ξ [.
] . ε ι ο τ α [.
] ν ρ α τ υ [.

Fr. 6

.] . ο ι ο [.
] ρ ε μ [.
] τ ε π [.

Fr. 7

.] ω . . ν τ [.
] ο ν η ς . [.

Fr. 8

.] ν ο [.
] α π [.

Fr. 5

2] . , the right hand part of a somewhat flattened round letter rather than an upright α [, left-hand arc of circle, ο and ω possible but less likely (a brownish shade above the trace does not seem to be ink) 3] ν , only the top, κ a possible alternative ρ rather than β τ rather than γ ν [, the high top of a descending oblique: if not γ, perhaps a punctuation sign

Fr. 6

1] . , τ or γ ο [, ω a possible alternative 3 π [, the horizontal joined by the top of the first upright: τ a possible alternative 2] ρ with a narrow loop (as probably in fr. 5.3)

Fr. 7

1 . . . , rubbed traces on damaged surface; tail (e.g. λ) touching ν τ [, an upright and trace of the left-hand part of the horizontal 2] ο , ω less likely ς rather than τ [, high trace?

Fr. 9	Fr. 10	Fr. 11	Fr. 12
. ]. . [	. ]κα[	. ]. εχεν[	. ]. τε[
]ε . [	.	.	] . [
]ς . [	.	.	] . . . [
.	.	.] . [

Fr. 9

1] . . [, lower part of α or λ followed by foot of an upright than the previous letter and slightly curved toward right, suggesting κ or λ 2] . [, an upright no taller than the previous letter and slightly curved toward right, suggesting κ or λ 3] . [, top of upright

Fr. 11

] . , right-hand part of flattened circular letter, or of loop at mid-height (as of ρ) After the first ε, only the extremities of the two diagonals, but their different extension makes it certain that this was a x rather than a κ

Fr. 12

1] . , stroke suggesting the end of a cross-bar or of a flattened descending oblique, not touching the following letter (but the surface is damaged) 2] . [, a small round letter, or conceivably traces belonging to two separate letters (the second being e.g. μ) 3] . . , high rather than middle-height cross-bar, e.g. τ, τ; tight loop, ρ or a small ο 4] . [, traces of an upright high in the line just a speck of ink

Fr. 1

- 1 A word ending in -]ε[ι]ων?
- 2 Either a case of omitted iota adscript (if it was not, indeed, squeezed into the lost portion of papyrus), or a form of a first person verb, such as λείβω, or, ἀμείβω, which, in the context, does not seem at first sight promising (there is no reason to accept the possibility of a Doric genitive here). PJP suggests also the possibility of the dual ἐφῆ]βω.
- 3 Apparently a verbal form ending in -ντο; if we take fr. 12 into account (see commentary ad loc.), πατέοντο would be the most obvious possibility, but, judging from the present shape of the fragment, πα would be too widely spaced. Various forms of the verb occur in epic poetry, but this one is attested only in Hesychius.
- 5 If fr. 12 does not belong here, the obvious supplement would be ἀτὰρ εἰ]π]ε]ι]τα.
- 6 In this context the first word is very likely to have been κειμ]ήλια (rather than γαμ]ήλια). The singular indicates a prize already at the funerary games for Patroklos at *Il.* 23.618, and cf. also Xenophanes 2.9 W. The plural occurs in relation to contest prizes apparently in Hes. fr. 75.23 MW and certainly in Nonn. *Dion.* 37.615, of funerary offerings in Q.S. 3.722. I assume that the word at the end of the line must have been (ἐλ)ἐλ(ε)ιπτο, but it is more difficult to make sense of the traces in between: παντα would not be a satisfactory reading, and would not leave enough space for the following expected λε; πασι too would be problematic (I would find it difficult to reconcile the relevant traces with sigma), but would leave more space for the following word. πατρι (λελειπτο) would be more easily compatible with the traces, apart from the ι. πατρος (ελεειπτο) is on the whole more promising. Both supplements would still leave little space for the ending of the noun and the beginning of the following verb, but they could conceivably just have been squeezed in. All in all, κει]μήλια πατρ]ό]c

ἐ]λ(ε)ιπτο (with πατρος referring to Pelias) seems to me the least unsatisfactory solution. The form ελεειπτο is not attested before A.R.

7 ἄεθλα must indicate the prizes: cf. *Il.* 23.704 ἀνδρὶ δὲ νικηθέντι γυναίκα' ἐς μέσσην ἔθηκε, Q.S. 4.180f. Θέτις δ' ἐς μέσσην ἀγῶνα / θῆκεν ἄρ' ἀμφὶ δρόμοιο βόας δέκα and Nonn. *Dion.* 37.549f. τίθει δ' εἰς μέσσην ἀείρας / ἀνθεμόεντα λέβητα χερεῖοι φωτὶ φυλάσσαν (so we must assume that a form of τίθημι, with Akastos as its subject, is lost in the gap).

8 ὀθνεῖος is not attested before the fifth century BC, and in hexameter poetry not before the Hellenistic period.

9 For the form ἀολλίθησαν in this metrical *sedes* cf. *Il.* 19.54, for the verb with ὄμιλος 15.588.

Fr. 2

1 ἀνέβατος is not attested before the fifth century BC, and occurs in poetry only in Lycophron and Oppian (one occurrence in a fourth-century AD verse inscription from Phrygia: SGO III 16/31/90.5). Alternative articulations include αν εμβατ[(an even rarer and later word) and -]αν εμβατ[- (perhaps Βατ[ῆθεν, cf. Hesych. s.v. ἐκ δήμου Βατῆς, τῆς Αἰγυῖδος φυλῆς (only here but possibly a mere mistake for the attested Βατῆθεν?), in view of the possible Attic connection in line 3? but the mention of the deme would sit awkwardly in a mythological context).

2 -]οιο κεράα[τ- (WBH). κεράατ- is not found before Aratus and Nicander (and a v.l. in Call. *H.* 2.60). For the pattern found here, with -οιο preceding, cf. Q.S. 6.225, 238, 11.102, Nonn. *Dion.* 2.283, 11.80, 27.220, 44.159.

3]πιθηναρ[overlaps with A.R. 1.95-6 τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ Κεκροπίθηθεν ἀρήμιος ἦλυθε Βούτης / παῖς ἀγαθοῦ Τελέοντος, ἐμμελής τε Φάληρος. The alternative]πιη θέναρ[, suggested by A. Harder, seems a much less likely articulation; in the light of the A.R. passage I would also consider Ἀπίθηθεν (WBH: Steph. Byz. a 357) a far less appealing solution. In A.R., Boutes did not get back to Greece, and could not have been involved in the games at Iolkos, but it is a remarkable coincidence that one of the athletes competing in the Games for Pelias on the Chest of Cypselus (as read by Pausanias 5.17) is a Phalareus, quite probably the same character as A.R.'s Phaleros, suggesting that this fragment too may be dealing with the same subject. In this case ἀρ[ήμιος ἦλθε (vel sim.) Φάληρος could provide a possible ending for our line. There are other (at first sight less promising) candidates from the same region: Hyginus 273 includes two Attic heroes in his list of winners of the games for Pelias: Cephalus, son of Deion (married to the Athenian Procris), and Eumolpus, son of Poseidon, from Eleusis. Favorinus' list of the victors at the first Isthmian games, on the other hand, features Theseus (*Cor.* = Dio Chrys. 37.14-15).

4 σύν ἦ(ι)α (a sequence not attested elsewhere, but theoretically possible) or, more probably, -σύνη-.

Metrical position (WBH): caesura before] ἀνέβατ[- (1), after -]οιο (2), -]πίθηθεν (3), -]σύνη (4) or -]σύνηει(ν) (4).

Fr. 3

2 A form of ἀργειφόντ- corrected to ἀργιφόντ-, following Didymus' prescription (fr. 2 Schmidt, cf. *Et. Gen.* s.v.), rather than out of mere itacistic confusion. If so, we are close to the end of the line, with (e.g.)] δὲ νῆσοι and εὖ]ν]ῆν in 3 and 4.

Fr. 4

2]ειη might be the ending of several nouns or adjectives, as well as of the optative of a few verbs. There are too many options to list the possibilities in such a fragmentary context.

3 Perhaps φύλακες (metrically impossible) was corrected to φυλακης, the common noun, or, more likely, the town from which the Argonaut Iphiklos, the victorious runner in the Games

according to Pausanias' reading of Cypselus's Chest, came? The corrected text rules out a form of ἄριτος for the following word, but other possibilities are available, such as the adjective ἀρίστημος, the noun ἄριτον (or one of its derivatives), or, perhaps, elided ἄρ' ις. If we are dealing with Iphiklos, perhaps e.g. ἐκ Φυλάκης ἀρίστημος.

Given the mention of χόλος, it is perhaps conceivable that this may be a reference to the previous history of the character, and, more precisely, to the way Iphiklos' sexual impotence was healed by Melampus θύσας . . . θεοῖς τοῖς μνήουσι ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν τετραπόδων εὐνουχίας (sch. vet. ad *Od.* 11.290: the story appeared in different versions in various archaic poems, probably including the *Melampodia*). If the context was a catalogue of heroes and Iphiklos was introduced only in line 3, on the other hand, it is of course also possible that the χόλος had nothing to do with him.

4 μέγα τε ε[]: 'e.g. μέγα τε ε[θένος (possibly in a periphrasis as at A.R. 1.531 Ἀγκαῖος μέγα τε ε[θένος Ἡρακλήος) rather than the Homeric formula μέγα τε ε[τιβαρόν τε' (WBH, to whom the reading ε[is due).

Fr. 5

2 The traces of the first letter look slightly easier to interpret as the lower part of the right-hand section of a round letter than as an upright: so, perhaps,] θειοτα[τ- (the superlative is apparently first attested in fifth-century prose, and in poetry not before the later Hellenistic period, but the comparative θεώτεραι appears already in the *Odyssey*) rather than e.g. ἀφ]γειοτα[τ- or τεθ]γειοτα? The articulations -ει οτ- and] ειο τ- are possible alternatives.

3]κρατ[is a possible interpretation of the traces. This may lead to the hypothesis that the line continued with fr. 3.2, to be read as]κρατ[αργ[ε]φ[οντης, with the first traces in fr. 3.2 interpreted as γ rather than as τ. But as far as I can see, fr. 3.1 is not a possible continuation of fr. 5.2.

Fr. 12

In a previous restoration fr. 12 had been placed in fr. 1 at the level of lines 3–6. This produces the following result in lines 3–5 (fr. 12 is given in bold; see also comm. on these lines in fr. 1):

].(.)π[.]τ[.]ντφ
]νι . . . [.]τ[.]τοσ
5]ναυταρ . . ο . τα

Its collocation was suggested by the appearance of the fibres on the recto, and by the possibility that a trace in the first line of the recto may represent the right-hand side of the numeral λ visible on fr. 1 (but a speck of ink above it does not seem to fit). I am not sure, though, that this makes it unquestionable. At any rate, if this arrangement were accepted, the reconstruction of lines 3 and 5 would be less tractable (see comm. ad loc.).

G. B. D'ALESSIO

5191. LYRIC

72/55(a)

11.4 × 15 cm

Third/fourth century

A column-top with upper margin about 2.2 cm high and remains of sixteen lines. The back is blank except for some ink stains near the foot. The space between lines is 0.25–0.5 cm deep, with a slightly larger gap of 0.6–0.7 cm between lines 8 and 9 and between lines 13 and 14.

The fragment is written in an informal, somewhat irregular hand, generally upright, generally bilinear (ι and ρ project below the line, φ above and below). A certain cursive tendency shows in line-final λ and ε, which prolong their horizontal elements to the right, and in the frequent ligatures (notably after α ε λ μ τ). ε sometimes has its upper element written in a single movement together with the cross-bar, sometimes added as a separate oblique. π appears twice in the formal shape, with strongly curved right-hand upright (2, 14), otherwise cursorily as a simple arch.

Dating the hand is complicated by its irregularity, whether we see it as a bookhand with cursive elements or as a formalized cursive. Provisionally I should set it at the frontier between the Roman and Byzantine periods. For datable parallels in (sub)literary texts, see LXIII 4352 (hexameters mentioning Zeus Kapitolios), dated by its content c.285; more cursive and more developed forms in LXXV 5063 (late m?) and in *GBEP* 9a (388). Cf. also *P. Ant.* I 15 (iv?).

Diaeresis marks initial vowels in 5 and 16; in 10 its function is unclear. Elision is indicated in at least one instance (10) and possibly in a second (5, in lighter ink); no certain example of unmarked elision or *scriptio plena*. There are traces of two accents: one grave or circumflex (5, in lighter ink) and one apparent acute (10); see also 2 n. If lines 10 and 11 are correctly interpreted, iota adscript is not written.

There are several additions or corrections in lighter ink, but not necessarily by a second hand: 2, a sign or letter over -ων; 5, a sign over τ and ε struck through (*scriptio plena* replaced with elision?); 7 and 9 ε struck through (correcting itacistic ει for short ι?); ει for long ι remains uncorrected (15), and also δοτεε for δοντεε (11, another phonetic spelling?). 10 seems to be corrupt.

The cursive features of the hand may suggest that the papyrus is not the work of an experienced scribe. We have then to ask whether it is an amateur copy of an existing text, or the actual autograph of the author. Autographs have certainly been identified among literary papyri; see T. Dorandi, *ZPE* 87 (1991) 18–21, for a list: a striking example is the *Encomium of Hermes/Theon*, VII 1015, another celebratory composition from Oxyrhynchus. But the corrections there have the character of author variants: those in our papyrus are just orthographic niceties, while the apparent corruption in line 10 remains uncorrected. Thus we cannot tell whether the poem itself is earlier than the copy in 5191 or contemporary with it.

The text is clearly set out in cola. That, the metrical patterns, and the literary vocabulary, identify it as verse. We do not know how much is lost to the left, or whether any of the cola were originally indented; as it is, the column is already quite wide (c.12 cm at line 5). Line 1, the top of a column, may have been the first line (or the title), and there is no reason to doubt that all 16 lines belong to the same composition, though no way of proving it either.

A rigorous account of the metre is difficult, since all the cola lack their beginnings, and some their ends. There is no sign of respension to suggest strophic

construction. The basic movement is anapaestic/dactylic, with occasional single-short elements (4?, 10, 11). In what seems to be an epinician poem, we might naturally look for dactylo-epitrite. But the 'epitrites' here are few and mostly (perhaps always) limited to verse-end. Professor D'Alessio therefore suggests that the whole basic structure consists of anapaestic cola, some acatalectic (ending ~~-), some catalectic (ending ~~-~), some *apokrota* (ending ~~-~-); or indeed the equivalent in dactyls. This scheme does not quite fit lines 10 and 11, but both lines are in some degree corrupt (see commentary ad loc.).

Anapaests appear relatively often in poetry of the imperial period (West, *Greek Metre* 170-72), notably in hymns such as that to Antinous in the Kourion inscription (I. Kourion 104, SEG 53.1747bis), but also in other genres (cf. the mime 5187). Normally, however, they take the form of dimeters, whereas 5191 includes longer cola: something similar in Philostr. *Heroicus* 55.3, anapaests with Doric vocalization, in which Achilles summons Echo to sing the praises of Homer. For dactylic lyric compare Macedonicus' hymn to Asclepius (IG II² 4473 = Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns* (2001) 7.5), late Hellenistic, with C. A. Faraone, *Mnemosyne* 64 (2011) 206-31, and various oddities of the Roman period (West, *Greek Metre* 176-7).

The context remains uncertain. *Καπιτώλιος* (6) looks like a reference to Zeus Kapitoliος; and that, in conjunction with *σταδίοις* (16), may direct us to the Capitoline Games, whether the great Roman festival or the local imitations set up e.g. at Oxyrhynchus in the late third century (see 6 n.). We can perhaps recognize the outlines of an epinician: news reaches the poet (2-3) of an athletic (16) victory at the Capitoline Games (6). 15 *ἰθύτονον* may even be a direct reminiscence of Pindar; and with Pindar in mind we could see references to myth (8? 12?) and poetry (7, 9) as part of the traditional structure of the praise-poem. This would be remarkable. The Roman world produced many self-advertising athletic and poetic victors (see e.g. 5202), and the epinicians of Pindar and Bacchylides certainly circulated, yet there is very little evidence that the Pindaric model found imperial imitators; see I. Rutherford in P. Agócs et al. (edd.), *Receiving the Komos* (2012) 93-104.

If we take our poem as an epinician, we need to ask whether it refers to the Roman or the local games, whether the notional victor was local or foreign, and whether it is an imported or a local composition. Then there is the further question whether this poem celebrates a victor in the competition, or was itself an entry in the competition. Note LXIII 4352, hexameter compositions which celebrate Antinous and then Diocletian and his Prefect, where Zeus Kapitoliος has installed the new Emperor and should reward the poet with an Olympic crown: the editor suggested that the verses were composed to be recited at Capitoline games. But of course there were other poetic competitions in Egypt (see 4352 introd.), and perhaps other types of occasion. In the context of athletics (16?), remember the various compositions designed probably for performance at the Gymnasium of Oxyrhynchus (below, 5194 introd.); if Nike is central (2 n.), we could think of the

processions in which her statue was carried before images of the imperial family (LXI 4125 7-8 n.) and of the (partly metrical) 'mime' for the accession of Hadrian (P. Giss. Lit. 4.4; *Mim. adesp.* 5 Cunningham).

The poet remains anonymous. *Καπιτώλιος* shows that he (or she) wrote no earlier than the first century AD. He writes competent anapaests, in a mixture of dialect forms: Doric alpha in 2 *πταμένα* and *κάρυξ*, possibly also 10 *τύχας* (if genitive singular) and 14 *-ριπτομένα* (if feminine nominative singular), but epic-Ionic eta in 5 *νηοίς* and 12 *πελώρην* (if correct). He seems to know Pindar (15), and if we interpret his work as an epinician we can see the overall design as in the Pindaric tradition. It is remotely possible that we have a local copy of a work by some external author. More likely, no doubt, that we have a local copy of a local composition, perhaps even an autograph. A local composition might refer to the *Ludi Capitolini*, but again more likely to a local *ἀγών καπετωλιακός*, provided always that 5191 should be dated III/IV, a judgment that like all palaeographic judgments may be open to question.

I am grateful to Prof. E. L. Bowie, Dr D. Colomo, Prof. W. Furley, and Dr L. Savignago for sharing their thoughts on the papyrus, and to Prof. G. B. D'Alessio, Dr W. B. Henry, and Prof. P. J. Parsons for the contributions indicated by their initials.

]ω[...].α.φ.[...]
] . δειμοιπτ . μεγακαρυξ . . οχών^χ
] . τηλεφανης
] . λιμαπελωριον
 5] νηοιστεθεωνενυ . ωρε[.] . [.] . τ'[[ε]]αγυ . [.]
] . ενκαπιτωλιοςεργονα . [. .]ς
] . λιγυρωνεπ[[ε]]ιβαθρο . [. . .] . ν
] εκατο[. .] . ειρων
] . αθηναρμ[.] . [[ε]]ιαν
 10] . ένδετ'εσιωτυχας
] λιουχωδοτεςθεα
] . ννερθεπελωρηγγα . [.]
] . [[ρι]θοσαειραι
] . ηριπτομενα
 15] . μενειθυτονοντοδ[.]
] . ικελον . αδιοικα . [.]

1] , the ligature to α suggests ε, but c cannot be excluded α , a low curve, fitting c or ε; the upper part is abraded [, the lower part of a curved letter, consistent with e or e 2] , the end of a stroke joining δ, compatible with λ or ε πτ , the form of the π in ligature combined with

the long cross-bar guarantees τ (cf. 14); then a small diagonal trace on the edge at line level . . . , first, specks; second, a slightly curved vertical on the right suits the rounded π ο, ο likeliest, but possibly the loop of ρ 3], a vertical on the edge, shorter than most ι, consistent with the right vertical of a ν 4], the ligature coming in high and a small trace above it favour ε over λ 5], the diagonal and right-hand vertical 6], traces of a slanted left-hand upright and two small traces at letter-top level ω, above this an oblique, grave accent or circumflex with left-hand part lost in hole? ε[, a small knot of damaged traces with a clear medial stroke: ε or θ 7], a line coming up out of the lacuna, φ or ι; a small trace at mid-height 8], upright τ, the trace above is in lighter ink, either right-hand side of ο or a very round apostrophe ε deleted with a cancel-stroke ρ γ rather than ι γ 9], top of an upright 6], a descending oblique joining an upright; the height of the upright suggests ν rather than λι 10], high trace 11], remains of the base and extended cap as in 3; a small trace above the cap 7], a descending oblique joining an upright 12], deleted with a cancel-stroke in greyer ink ρ ρ 13], the top of a small bowl: ο, c, or ρ; ο or ρ; a short, slightly concave upright, consistent with ν 14], ο or ω 8], end of a high horizontal stroke: τ, γ, x 9], joined to α, the tail of λ, λ, or μ; the height best suits μ μ[, lower parts of the first stroke and bridge, too low for λ 15], foot of a stroke ascending steeply from left to right, e.g. ν 16], deleted with a cancel-stroke in greyer ink 10], a curved foot, most likely π or η 11], λ, the left-hand diagonal descends too sharply to fit λ 12], a round letter, probably ο or ω η, the foot of the right-hand upright appears unusually pointed, and closer than usual to the left-hand upright α 13], a ligatured to an upright slanting to the right 13], rising from letter-top level, an ascending oblique, slightly curving at the top, with papyrus surface abraded to the right and missing below ι appears to have a low horizontal, but does not look like an ε: perhaps ι with a smudge of ink 14], a trace on the line, perhaps the curved foot of a vertical or diagonal 15], ο or ρ θυ, the cross-bar of θ seems to be rewritten (corrected to or from ε?) 16], high trace: c, τ, γ, or x 17], a short high horizontal trace; a long cross-bar with a suggestion of the top of the upright of τ 18], a high curved trace and a horizontal just underneath the tail of λ: perhaps ε

- ω[. . .]εα. φ. [. . .]
]ε δέ μοι πταμένα κάρυξ ἐπ' ὄχων
]. τηλεφανής
]ελμα πελώριον
 5] νηοῖς τε θεῶν ἐν ὑπωρε[. . .]. [. . .]. τ' ἀγυ[.
]. ἐν Καπιτώλιος ἔργον α. [. . .] c
] ν λιγυρῶν ἐπίβαθρον [. . .]. ν
] εκατο[. . .]. εἰρων
] μαθεν ἀρμ[ο]νίαν
 10 c] πεύδεται ἐσὶ τὸν τύχας
] λιούχῳ δό(ν)τες θεῶ
]. ν νέρθε πελώρη γαί[αν
]. [] ριθος ἀειραι
]. ηριπτομενα
 15]. μεν εἰθύτονον τοδ[
]. ἴκελον σταδίοις α. [

' . . . to me, flying, a herald on a chariot . . . far-shining . . . enormous . . . temples of gods in . . . streets (?) . . . Capitoline . . . task . . . a foundation (?) of clear-sounding [songs] . . . (s)he understood harmony . . . strive . . . fortune . . . having given to the . . . goddess . . . below, the enormous earth . . . lift . . . bracing (?) herself . . . straight-stretched . . . equal to [. . .] in the stadia . . .'

2 κάρυξ seems more likely than κάρυξ'. If this is nominative, the lacuna probably contained a finite verb: cf. *Od.* 16.468–9 ὠμῆρησε δέ μοι παρ' ἑταίρων ἄγγελος ὠκύς, / κῆρυξ. It may have been a verb of arrival, like ὠμῆρησε, or ἦλθε (cf. *Sapph.* 44.2 V. κάρυξ ἦλθε θε[; B. 18.16–17 ἦλθε(ν) . . . κάρυξ) or a *verbum dicendi* like εἶπε (cf. *Tim. PMG* 802). If κάρυξ is vocative, the lacuna may have contained an imperative. (I print κάρυξ with the traditional accent: see P. Probert, *A New Short Guide to the Accentuation of Ancient Greek* (2003) §156.)

The female flying messenger might be Nike. For Νίκα . . . πταμένα, see *Eur. Ion* 457–60; here Athena is addressed as Nike. See also *Ar. Av.* 574 αὐτίκα Νίκη πέτεται πτερόγυον χρυσαῖν, *Paus.* 5.17.3 ἔχουσα Νίκη περά. But I know of no passage where Nike is referred to as κῆρυξ. Φήμα or the equivalent might also fit the context, as GBD'A and WBH both suggest: cf. *Bacch.* 2.1 (messenger), *Hdt.* 9.100, *Aristoph. Av.* 720, *Nonn. Dion.* 44.123, 18.1 and 24.179 (winged); *GVI* 805.3 (π β c) φήμη κηρύσσ[ε]. I have found no reference to a chariot of PHEME, but perhaps such transport was generally available to mobile goddesses.

If a messenger is the subject, 'the first few lines [may] offer a topos that occurs in the incipits of at least two Hellenistic epinician poems: that of the arrival of the news of the victory. This is found in both Callimachus' *Victory of Berenice* and his *Victory of Sosibius*, and reverses the equivalent motif in the classical victory ode, where it is the new poem that is the vehicle for the diffusion of the news: Th. Fuhrer, *Die Auseinandersetzung mit den Chorlyrikern* (1992) 88–93' (GBD'A). Maehler on *Bacch.* 2.1 compares Ebert, *Epigr. auf Sieger* 59.11–12 [= SGO I 06/02/21] and 72.7–9, both victory poems.

ὄχων. The apparent χ over the ω seems to be in lighter ink. Its function is unclear. χ is a critical sign commonly used in papyri, whose specific function is often unclear (cf. K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia* (1992) 43–8, table 3), but it always occurs in the margin. GBD'A suggests that it is actually an acute accent corrected to a grave, or the other way round. If so, to distinguish ἐπ' ὄχων from ἐποχῶν (< ἐποχή or ἐποχέω)?

3 τηλεφανής generally means 'far-shining' or 'visible from afar' (Achilles' tomb in *Od.* 24.83). If it here applies to the subject in 2, and if that subject is e.g. PHEME, compare *Soph. Phil.* 189 ἀχὼν τηλεφανής, where the meaning seems to be 'making its appearance from far away'.

4]ελμα. Several words end thus, e.g. (-)ἀγγελμα, ὄφελμα, ἐέλμα, τέλμα. Archimelus, *SH* 202.1 (*FGE* 83) has ἐέλμα πέλωρον, 'giant deck', of Hiero II's monster ship. In epinician context, *Pind. Ol.* 10.21 πελώριον . . . κλέος.

5 νηοῖς τε θεῶν: cf. *Pind. Ol.* 13.21 θεῶν ναοῖσιν. For the Ionic vocalization, νηός for ναός, cf. 12 πελώρην.

ἐν ὑπωρε[: the traces between υ and ω match no letter perfectly, but the rounded π comes closest; ε small and partly closed, like θ. Then, after a damaged patch, a vertical trace high above the line. In itself, ὑπωρ- would suggest ὑπωρει- or ὑπωροφ-. ὑπωρε[ι]α[ι]c] could make sense, and the word does occur in poetry (*Il.* 20.218, *A.R.* 2.380), though more often in prose. However, the space seems too narrow for ια written normally, and]ι[would have to be abnormally tall. ὑπωροφ[ι] would introduce a word familiar from poetry, and φ would fit the high trace perfectly. However, ο does not match the ink (unless the medial stroke is a mark of deletion), or the gap that follows.

] . τ' [ε]: originally it seems] . τε; then someone, using lighter ink, added an elision mark and struck out ε. We may consider a word-ending] . τ(ε) (the first trace an upright), or the particle τ': perhaps ἐν ὑπωρε[ι]α[ι]c] ε] ν τ' ἀγυ[αί]c, or ἐν ὑπωροφ[ι]οι[ι]c] ε] τ' ἀγυ[αί]c (*PJP*, 'roofed streets' referring to the four stoai of the Oxyrhynchus town-centre, *LXIV* 4441), but neither version explains all the ink; see previous note.

αγν. [: perhaps ἀγνι-.

6] . εν: the first trace would suit ν. -γεν would most likely be the last syllable of a third person singular verb in the imperfect or aorist. Possibilities include ἐκρα(ι)νεν 'accomplished/provided', ἐφα(ι)νεν 'showed', and ἐπέρα(ι)νεν 'accomplished'.

Καπιτώλιος (sometimes Καπετώλιος) occurs occasionally as a proper name, but more commonly as an epithet of Zeus: Ζεὺς Καπιτώλιος = Jupiter Capitolinus. For his cult in the Greek East generally, see J. P. Oleson et al., *ZPE* 140 (2002) 108–9 (and SEG 52.1707); for Roman Egypt, G. Ronchi, *Lexicon theonymon* ii (1974) 401; for Oxyrhynchus, J. Whitehorne in *ANRW* II 18.5 (1995) 3084. The Capitoline Games were celebrated in his honour, and σταδίου in 16 suggests that this was the context here. In that case we have to choose between two different festivals. (1) The Ludi Capitolini at Rome, founded by Domitian in AD 86, held prime place on the athletic and musical circuit. See M. L. Caldelli, *L'Agon Capitolinus* (1993). (2) Imitations of the Roman model, called Καπιτώλια or ἀγὼν Καπιτωλιακός, appear in Egypt from the later third century on: at Antinoopolis, founded in 267/8, and specifically at Oxyrhynchus, which celebrated its games first in 273 and possessed its own Καπιτώλιον (see J. C. Quinn and A. Wilson, 'Capitolia', *JRS* 103 (2013) 117–73, at 149). For the documentary evidence see P. Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri*; LXIII 4352 introd.; below pp. 194–5, 198 [Remijsen].

α. [. . .] c: the high trace above the bowl best matches a preceding slanted epsilon (cf. the ε of θεῶν in 5), which suggests the neuter of an adjective in -ης to go with ἔργον (e.g. ἀε[ικέ]c, cf. *Il.* 14.13 etc. ἔργον ἀεικέc, but the space might be just too large for that); if the trace is something else, the form may be a nominative participle, e.g. ἀν[ύκα]c (GBD'A).

7 ἐπίβαθρον or ἐπὶ βάθρον? If the former, perhaps ἐπίβαθρον {ἀοιδ}ῶν, where the genitive would represent ἀοιδή rather than ἀοιδός, since λυγυρά ἀοιδή is so common a conjunction from *Od.* 12.44 and 183 onwards. In Claudian, *AP* 9.140.3 ἐπίβαθρον ἀοιδῆc, the word has the concrete sense 'support', of a stool for the poet; so in *AP* 9.661.3 (Jul. Aegypt.) of a tree where birds perch; Call. fr. 196.23 of a statue-base (A. Kerkhecker, *Callimachus' Book of Iambi* (1999) 153–4). It can also mean 'fee paid when embarking on a ship', *Od.* 15.449 etc. Might it here refer to a physical support for the singer ('platform'), or more figuratively to the basis of his song (cf. Hes. *Op.* 659 ἔνθα με τὸ πρῶτον λυγυρῆc ἐπέβησαν ἀοιδῆc), which might be the ἔργον of 6? Or, in the other sense, 'a fee for clear-sounding songs', if that would somehow fit the context?

8]εκατο[. . .], ειρων: perhaps ἑκατο[γ]χεύρων (or ἑκατο[ν]-, as transmitted in Acusilaus fr. **8 Fowler), but this looks a letter short (perhaps a diastole was written between γ and]χ; see *GMAW*² p. 11 n. 50). An alternative might be]ε κατο[ικ]τεύρων, compare LXIII 4352 fr. 5 ii 18, where Zeus Kapitolios gives the empire to Diocletian οἰκτεύρας γενεῆν . . . ἀν[δρῶν].]τ is a doubtful reading, since we might expect the cross-piece to extend rightwards and touch the following ε, but it matches the trace slightly better than x. If τ, then e.g. ἀ]χεύρων or] ἑκατο[ν ε]χεύρων ('rousing the far-shooter' [sc. Apollo]; cf. *Il.* 1.385).

9]μαθεν: the initial trace favours (-)]μαθεν over (-)]λαθεν. Perhaps μάθεν (without augment); (-ε)]μαθεν is unlikely, since it would give three successive short syllables.

ἀρμ[ο]ρίαν suits the space. The fourth letter visible from the end appears to be a cancelled epsilon: presumably the scribe first wrote the itacistic spelling -εῖαν. However, the process may have been more complicated, since] . [[ε]]:αν and perhaps also the preceding μ[are written in a hand that, while basically similar to the rest, slopes strongly to the right.

PJP speculates that the author has in mind Pindaric references to the children of Gaia: *Pyth.* 1.15–16 Typhos fears the Muses' song; *Pyth.* 8.16–18 Typhos and Porphyron subdued (δμάθεν, which would fit the traces in 9, but not the metre as analysed above). Typhos and music reappear in Nonn. *Dion.* 1.376 ff.: see Rutherford in Agócs et al. (edd.), *Receiving the Komos* 103–4.

10 c]πεύδτετ': or] . εὔδτετ', indicative or imperative. The apparent acute accent would exclude the articulation c]πευδέτ', εὔδέτ'. If imperative, addressed to the external audience or to some group within the framework of the poem?

εἰώ: ἰὼ τύχας (*Eur. El.* 1185), possible in itself, would leave εc stranded. εἰώ (from ε(δ)σιέναι) exists as a form, and the internal diaeresis has parallels elsewhere in the writing of compound words. But it seems to make no obvious sense, particularly if 11 δό(ν)τες goes with c]πεύδτετ'. Therefore I have considered whether it represents a phonetic spelling of αἰείω (see for ε instead of αι Gignac, *Grammar* i 192–3), but this would be the only example of such a spelling in the text.

τύχας accusative plural or Doric genitive singular?

11]λιούχω . . . θεᾶ. Perhaps πο]λιούχω, often applied to Athena but elsewhere also to other tutelary deities. However, it may be worth considering πηδα]λιούχω, as PJP suggests, if θεᾶ (or θεά) refers to 10 Τύχας: for Tyche as pilot (often in art) cf. Pind. fr. 40 δίδυμον στρέφουσα πηδάλιον, Dio. Chrys. *Or.* 63.7 τὸ δὲ πηδάλιον δηλοῖ ὅτι κυβερνή τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ἢ τύχη. So GVI 1516.5 τύχης . . . οἶακι (Orchomenos, II/1 BC).

δοτεc is probably a mistake for δόντες (cf. XLII 3017 3 δοτεc, I δόντες); see Gignac, *Grammar* i 116–17. This would be an unexpected lapse in an otherwise quite literate manuscript. Alternatively, WBH suggests a graphic corruption, e.g. δοτεc for δ(εδωκ)ότεc. For the construction, cf. *Eur. IT* 820 μητρὶ δοῦσα cῆ. The object might be e.g. τιμάν, 'giving honour to the god(dess)', as at *Eur. Ba.* 342 μεθ' ἡμῶν τῶι θεῶι τιμῆν δίδου. Since the context is unknown, the possibility of a dual]λιούχω δ' ὄτ' ἐc θεά ('and when to the . . . goddesses'), though unlikely, cannot be excluded.

12] . νέρθε: νέρθε may be adverb or preposition. The preposition takes the genitive, which may precede it (LSJ s.v. ἔνερθε II.1.a): in that case perhaps read]ων, which is not excluded by the traces (cf. *Il.* 2.150 ποδῶν δ' ὑπένερθε).

πελώρη γαι[αν: γαία πελώρη is a Hesiodic formula at verse end (*Th.* 159 etc., see West ad loc.; picked up in Thgn. 9 and in QS. 2.225, 6.335, 10.72). This recommends restoring γαι[αν here, rather than γάν], where in any case we would expect γῆν. For the Ionic vocalization in πελώρη cf. 5 νηοῖc. In Homer the longer form πελώριος is the norm, and our author has πελώριον in line 4. But in 12 πελωρίαν is excluded by the space, while ριον (two-termination) is excluded by the traces.

13] .]ιθος ἀειραι: ἀείραι optative or ἀείραι infinitive? At the beginning, the trace stands well to the left of ρ; there may or may not have been a narrow letter in between.]βρίθος, with a damaged β, would fill the space, and give sense; cf. Dorieus, *SH* 396.1 (*FGE* 159) ἦρατο βρίθος. If e.g. (cυν)]έριθος, the cross-bar of ε must have been unusually prolonged.

14] . ηριπτομενα:] . η ριπτομένα (Doric feminine) or ριπτόμενα (neuter plural), c]κηριπτομένα or c]κηριπτόμενα. If we accept the first articulation,] . η might end a noun agreeing with the participle. But if it was feminine singular, the author should have written Doric -a; if it was neuter plural, we might have expected -εα, though the author is not necessarily in full control of his dialects.

15 εἰθύτονον: I. ἰθύτονον. The word occurs only at *AP* 6.187.4 (*GP* 3539), Alpheus, ἰθυτόνων . . . ἀπὸ σταλίκων ('straight' or 'upright'). However, as GBD'A points out, the equivalent εἰθύτονος is transmitted at Pind. *Ol.* 10.64–5 στάδιον μὲν ἀρίστευεν εἰθύτονον / ποσσὶ τρέχων (where edd. normally print εὔθην τόνον: WBH refers to W. S. Barrett, *Greek Lyric, Tragedy, & Textual Criticism* (2007) 73–4). The scholia understand it to qualify στάδιον, τὸ μὴ ἔχον καμπήν, τὸν ἀπλοῦν δρόμον, and so here σταδίου appears in the next line.

16 ἴκελον: ι has a diaeresis, as expected at word-beginning. Its dative probably preceded, e.g. θεοῖ]c ἴκελον.

σταδίου refers to the racecourse as a place or as an event (cf. Pind. *Isth.* 1.22–3 λάμπει . . . ἀρετὰ ἐν . . . γυμνοῖc σταδίου; 1015 8 Ἐρμῆν δ' ἐν σταδίου ἐναγώνιον ἀθλητῆρεc [sc. κλήζουc]). The word following σταδίου begins with α, then indeterminate traces: in this context ἀε[θλ is worth considering.

5192. PROSE (ON CROWNS, GAMES AND VICTORIES)

87/336(a-b)

Fr. 1 5.2 × 10.2 cm

Second century

A group of 49 mostly very small fragments, probably assembled on the basis of the similarity of the literary script. The larger fragments contain an unknown prose-work; many of the scraps may come from the same work, but here the criterion of script is more difficult to apply, and some probably (fr. 44, 49) or possibly do not belong.

The larger fragments show an upper margin of at least 3.4 cm (fr. 3) and an intercolumnium of c.1.9–2 cm (fr. 2 and 3). The maximum line-length preserved is c.16 letters = 5 cm (fr. 1). However, the lines were probably somewhat longer (c.22 letters?) as it does not seem possible to reconstruct a continuous text in fr. 1 on the basis of lines of 16 letters (see the discussion of possible supplements in fr. 1.9–12 and fr. 9). Johnson's statistics, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* 100–115, suggest c.7–7.5 cm as the top of the 'normal' range for prose texts.

There are some angular line-fillers in fr. 2 (4, 7, 10 and 13) as in *GMAW*² 67 and 82 (see also *GMAW*² p. 5 n. 12); on line-fillers see further R. Barbis Lupi, *Pap. Cong. XIX* (1992) 502–10; T. Di Matteo, *Pap. Cong. XXIV* (2007) 259–63; G. Del Mastro, *CErc* 39 (2009) 296–9. The scribe uses *scriptio plena* twice in fr. 1 (4, 15; cf. fr. 3 i 5), and there is probably elision (apparently unmarked) at fr. 5.4. A paragraphus is found under fr. 4.6, and a high stop at fr. 1.3. Diaeresis is applied to initial *v* (fr. 4.4, 2.5 (?)).

The hand is an informal example of the 'mixed' type (see *GMAW*² p. 22), slightly sloping to the right. It may be compared to *GMAW*² 27, which is assigned to the second (or third: *GMAW*² p. 149 n. 48) century. In combination with the documentary text on the other side this suggests a date of roughly the second century.

The literary text is written across the fibres, on the back of documentary remains identified by N. Gonis as from a tax account, particularly on the basis of the larger fragments, such as fr. 1, 2 and 3. The text runs in the same direction on both sides. The reverse of some of the smaller fragments (such as fr. 7, 12, 14, 18, etc.) is blank, but as the account clearly had some very wide spacing they could easily be from the same environment, as can be seen in fr. 4, where the reverse of the literary text is apparently the lower margin of the document.

Within the group of literary fragments, 1 and 2 might belong together, either as parts of one column or, perhaps more likely, as parts of two consecutive columns (see commentary on fr. 1). Among the other fragments of which some sense can be made, fr. 3, 11 and 13 give column-tops, and since their documentary rectos show some similarity one may consider the possibility that they are from the same part of the papyrus, perhaps from the top of the columns of which fr. 1 and fr. 2 form the

lower part. Fr. 4 probably contains the lower margin of the document on its back, so it should come in a position lower in a column.

The more substantial fragments are about crowns, games and victories, but do not give the impression of being a list of victors or festivals, since in some fragments, such as fr. 1, 2, 3 and 11, discursive or narrative elements can be detected (especially the use of particles and verb-forms). In fr. 4, a paragraphus under line 6 may indicate that the words $\delta \tau\eta\varsigma \xi\lambda\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\phi\lambda\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (7) begin a new section, which may suggest an arrangement according to prizes (but for some reservations see the commentary ad loc.). Other fragments contain references to several victories (so fr. 5, 9, 12 and perhaps 13), and sometimes references to well-known victors, such as Euthymus of Locri (see on fr. 1.4 etc.), can be detected. The vocabulary perhaps contains some poetic words, such as $\phi\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ and $\alpha\iota\omicron\lambda\omicron\sigma\pi$ - (fr. 1.3, 13, but the readings are somewhat doubtful; see commentary); $\gamma\alpha\iota\eta$ (fr. 2.4, also doubtful; see commentary), $\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda]\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ (fr. 3 i 1). This could mean that the text had literary pretensions or, more likely, contained quotations (but there is no overlap with known poetic fragments and the remains are too small for it to be possible to detect a metrical structure).

There are other papyri with texts about games: P. Harris I 49, a simple list of festivals from the third/fourth century; II 222 + XXIII 2381, a list of Olympic victors from 480–468, 456–448, and 396 BC, containing information about names, places and games; further lists of Olympic victors in PSI XV 1506 and PL inv. III/1000 v. (ed. R. Pintaudi, *CE* 87 (2012) 305–7). However, these are not very similar to our papyrus. For further discussion of victor lists see H. Maehler, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides* i.2 (1982) 1–4; P. Christesen, *Olympic Victor Lists and Ancient Greek History* (2007).

There is also ample evidence of ancient authors writing about specific games. These include e.g. Eratosthenes (*FGrHist* 241), who wrote a work called Ὀλυμπιονίκαι in the third century BC (see R. Tosi in *DNP* s.v. Eratosthenes), and Phlegon of Tralles (*FGrHist* 257), who, during the reign of Hadrian, wrote about victors in the Olympic Games (see P. L. Schmidt in *DNP* s.v. Phlegon). Also Paus. 6.1–18 contains a great deal of information about Olympic victors and their statues. Our papyrus, however, does not seem to focus on specific games, so more general works on games would offer better prospects of similarity or identification. A well-known work of this kind was probably Callimachus' Περὶ ἀγώνων (fr. 403 Pf.; cf. also fr. 541), written in the third century BC, for which he had a predecessor in Duris of Samos (*FGrHist* 76) and which may have inspired a range of authors writing on a similar theme, listed by Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 403 (Ister, Cleophanes, Theodorus Hierapolites, Oenomaus of Gadara); see also Christesen, *Olympic Victor Lists* 169–70. Apart from this we also have poetic fragments of Callimachus which deal with pan-Hellenic victors and may be based on Callimachus' own prose-work; cf. *Aetia* fr. 84–85a (Euthycles) and 98–99b (Euthymus); and among the unplaced fragments fr. 607

(Theagenes of Thasos?); 666 (Astylus of Locri); 758 (?) (Milon of Croton). However, no overlaps can be established.

More information about victors comes from their inscriptions: see J. Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen* (1972), cited in the commentary below as 'Ebert'. Suggestions made by Professor Parsons, Professor D'Alessio, and Dr Henry are cited below by their initials.

Fr. 1

	] ανε.[	] ανε.[
	] γαρεκα[	] γαρ εκα[
	] φραδας περ[	] φραδας περ[
	] δηδεεγλοκροι[	] δηδε εν Λοκροι[
5	] μενδικαιο[. . .][	5] μεν δικαιο[. . .][
	] νηκτην παρα[	] νηκτην παρα[
	] ουτι ενουν[	] ον οτι μεν ουν [
	] αιτατοιαυταπα[	] και τα τοιαυτα πα[
	] τιδεκατων κρε.[	] τι δε και των κρε.[
10	] κατεπυκ ενσεντο[	10] κατεπυκτευσε το[
	] ακουσαι τ[. . .] κροτων[	] ακουσαι τ[. . .] κροτων[
	] οκαλουμε[. . .] ος τ. με[	] ο καλούμε[. . .] ος τ. με[
	] τοπον[. . .] ολο[	] τοπον[. . .] ολο[
	] χωρανε[. . .] νηκ[	] χωραν ε[. . .] νηκ[
15	] τινα αγ[. . .] ν και χ[	15] τινα αγ[. . .] ν και χ[
	] ειωτ[. . .] οδυς[	] ειω τ[. . .] οδυς[
	] κους[	] κους[
	] ωγη[	] ωγη[
	] αυτω[	] αυτω[
20	] . . . .[	20][

Fr. 1

1], hook at bottom (ε or c likely) 2], long vertical bending to right (γ fits best) 3], speck on edge (upper right-hand corner of letter, e.g. η or η) 4], thick vertical trace, with hook to left at top (as in π); blotted rounded trace on both sides of gap (ο or ρ would fit, but no traces of descender, so ο more likely) 5], long vertical 6], foot of slightly sloping vertical (position fits ρ, γ, or ι) 7], vertical and right top of letter (μ fits) 8], c or κ 9], high speck (perhaps supralinear) 10], long vertical (e.g. ι) 11], horizontal top 12], speck (right top of letter) 13], one or two letters missing 14], vertical on edge of gap (ε or η possible) 15], vertical; specks at bottom (lower part of square or triangular letter would fit); long vertical 16], end of oblique followed by vertical (so λ1 or λ1 or η if the traces are part of one letter) 17], π or τ and speck on edge 18], probably lower left part of κ or left top of

μ (π or λ less likely) 19], thick vertical with remains of horizontal joined to it at left at mid-height (η likely) 20], vertical bending to right at top (perhaps ρ or ε) 21], rounded trace and speck (lower right part and top of ο fits best) 22], oblique 23], slightly rounded right part of letter (η would fit) 24], stray ink below ζ 25], slightly sloping vertical with specks to right (κ perhaps possible) 26], if two letters, λ or λ followed by vertical; if one letter, η would fit well 27], specks at bottom 28], speck on edge 29], vertical on edge (thickened at mid-height: ρ or η?) 30], perhaps right top of μ; speck; top of vertical or steep descending oblique; part of horizontal top

Fr. 2

. . .
] εφα[
] δεδρυ
] καιοαρης
] νγαη >
5] υποκρο
] σμιλω
] ατε >
] απεστη
] αιπαρα
10] στων >
] μεγαρης
] νανει
] μετα >
] τηναγο
15] υπιγραμ
] κην[

Fr. 2

1], speck 2], vertical trace 3], long vertical 4], above ν perhaps part of the right dot of a diacresis 5], probably ends of fork of κ 6], high oblique trace (right part of γ fits) 7], long vertical 8], top of vertical joined to τ

Fr. 3 col. i

1], end of oblique 2], vertical; oblique rising to right: λ or λ 3], speck at bottom; blotted trace at bottom 4], vertical, bending to the left at bottom with ink to left (right part of η fits well; right part of π would be bending to the right) 5], slightly sloping horizontal top (as sometimes with τ); end of oblique 6], speck below λ 7], traces fit upper right part of ε 8], end of oblique 9], top of vertical; upper part of small loop 10], top of κ or γ likely 11], π or τ 12], triangular letter (λ likely); top of vertical (?)

col. ii

3], top of triangular letter; high speck

Fr. 3

col. i

Top
] μαιινιασδε
] τεπαλαισεν
] ηχομ[. . .][
] υκ[. . .] σπολλ[
5]] παυσατοου[
] σεπιδεικν[
] . . .] αιτων[
] αρρ[
] α[

col. ii

Top
] γου[
] ωπ[
] . . . [

- Fr. 15
- Top?
- 1 . . .
] . [.
] λει . [.
] θηκ . [.
] . ε . [.
5] . ης . [.
] . ρη . [.
] . να [.
- Fr. 16
- 1] . . , specks
ink below (c fits best)
- 2] . [, vertical
- 3] . , c likely
- 4] . , o or p
- Fr. 17
- Perhaps upper margin
- 2] . , ink touching o on left?
on loose fibre; speck (perhaps top of vertical); top of π, τ, or γ
- 3] . . . [, oblique trace; ink
- Fr. 18
- 1] . , τ or γ
horizontal top
- 2] . [, slightly rounded trace on edge
- 3] . , rounded letter
- Fr. 19
- Top
- ου . [.
οτ . [.
αυ [.
δ . [.
- Fr. 20
- 1] . , vertical and specks
- 2] . , o or p
- Fr. 21
- 1] . [, long vertical with ink to right (perhaps p)
- 2] . [, rounded top of letter (?)
- Fr. 16
- 1 . . κ . [.
] ωνδ . [.
] . εω . [.
] . νω [.
- Fr. 17
- 1 κενοςπερ [.
] . ουχαιρων [.
] [. . .] π [.
- Fr. 18
- 1] . η . [.
] νο . [.
] . ονε [.

- Fr. 22
- 1] . [, rounded letter (left bottom)
- 2] . [, tops of two verticals; rounded top
- Fr. 23
- 1] . [.
] . θ . [.
] δε [.
] π [.
- Fr. 24
- 1 . . ε . [.
] . π . . [.
- Fr. 25
- 1] . [] . . [.
] επ . [.
- Fr. 26
- 1] ων [.
] ιν . [.
- Fr. 23
- 1] . [, speck
- 2] . , speck (top end of c?)
- 3] . [, speck at bottom
- Fr. 24
- 1] . . , specks (oblique crossing foot of vertical?)
- 2] . , o or p
- 3] . [, oblique
- 4] . [, o or p
- 5] . [, o or p
- 6] . [, o or p
- 7] . [, o or p
- 8] . [, o or p
- 9] . [, o or p
- 10] . [, o or p
- 11] . [, o or p
- 12] . [, o or p
- 13] . [, o or p
- 14] . [, o or p
- 15] . [, o or p
- 16] . [, o or p
- 17] . [, o or p
- 18] . [, o or p
- 19] . [, o or p
- 20] . [, o or p
- 21] . [, o or p
- 22] . [, o or p
- 23] . [, o or p
- 24] . [, o or p
- 25] . [, o or p
- 26] . [, o or p
- 27] . [, o or p
- 28] . [, o or p
- 29] . [, o or p
- 30] . [, o or p
- Fr. 25
- 1] . [, speck at bottom
- 2] . [, end of oblique; vertical trace with ink to right (perhaps p)
- 3] . [, ω or c
- Fr. 26
- 1] . [, trace at mid-level
- Fr. 27
- 1] τ . [.
] η [.
- Fr. 28
- 1] . αδ [.
] . [] α [.
- Fr. 29
- 1] χιων [.
] νυν [.
] . πα [.
- Fr. 30
- 1] ω . [.
] . κ [.
] . δ [.
- Fr. 27
- 1] . [, speck on edge
- Fr. 28
- 1] . , possibly a tight loop as of a narrow p
- 2] . [, sloping vertical
- Fr. 29
- 1] . [, vertical trace (top)
- 2] . [, vertical trace (top)
- 3] . [, vertical trace (top)
- Fr. 30
- 1] . [, vertical (slightly curved)
- 2] . [, vertical
- 3] . [, right part of ω or η

Fr. 31	Fr. 32	Fr. 33	Fr. 34
.	.	.	Top
] . [	] α . [ . ] . [	. [	] ε ι . [
] . ζ τ [	] . υ . [	π ρ [	] ε ξ [
] . . [	] . α ι π [	δ [] . [
.] . [.	.

Fr. 31
1] . [, speck
2] . , long descender
3] . . [, speck; curved trace and vertical (part of λ?)

Fr. 32
1] . [, specks] . [, vertical
2] π υ α [?
3] . , two dots one above the other (ε or κ would fit)
4] . [, top of vertical

Fr. 33
1] . [, rounded trace at bottom
1-2 Between these lines small rounded or oblique trace in margin on a turned-over piece with horizontal fibres, i.e. from recto

Fr. 34
1] . [, speck
3] . [, vertical

Fr. 35	Fr. 36	Fr. 37	Fr. 38
.	.	.	.
] κ υ . [	] ε ρ α [	] . η [] . . [
] ι . [	] . υ c . [	] . . α [	] . c υ ω . [
] κ ω ε [	] ε . . [	.	.
] . [.	.	.

Fr. 35
1] . [, sloping vertical with ink to left at top (τ likely)
top (π likely)
4] . [, right part of small loop (ο or ρ)

Fr. 36
2] . , ο or ρ
] . , τ or line-filler
3] . . [, vertical joined to horizontal top (τ likely); top of vertical

Fr. 37
1] . , vertical
2] . . , ρ or ο; then τ would fit

Fr. 38
1] . [, slightly rounded vertical; high speck
2] . , end of oblique
] . [, speck at bottom

Fr. 39	Fr. 40	Fr. 41	Fr. 42
.	.	.	.
] . . [	] ο υ [	] . . . [	] . ι ω υ [
] δ [	] . [	] ν κ α [	.
] τ . [	.	] λ η λ [	.
] . μ [	.	] . δ ι . [	.
5] υ θ [	.	.	.
] . [.	.	.

Fr. 39
1] . . [, vertical; beginning of oblique
6] . [, top of vertical
3] . [, speck at bottom
4] . , vertical

Fr. 40
2] . [, top of vertical

Fr. 41
1] . . . [, triangular letter; vertical; small loop at bottom (left part of λ fits)
] . [, rounded letter
4] . , end of oblique

Fr. 42
] . , speck at bottom

Fr. 43	Fr. 44	Fr. 45	Fr. 46
.	.	Top	.
] ζ ο c [	] μ ε [	] . δ ε . [] . [
] ε κ . [	] . μ [	] δ ε τ [	] μ . [
] . [	] λ ι α [	] . [	] . η [
.	] π . . [	.	] τ [
.	.	.	.

Fr. 43
2] . [, beginning of oblique
3] . [, speck and top of vertical with oblique trace joined at left (perhaps top of λ)

Fr. 44
2] . , perhaps λ
μ somewhat anomalous
high trace (top of λ?)
3] λ ι , or] Ν
4] . . [, top of vertical;

Fr. 45
1] . , speck at bottom
] . [, specks
3] . [, top of vertical

Fr. 46
1] . [, speck
2] . [, specks
3] . , tail joining η at foot

Fr. 47

.
].
].η.
]ουτ[
]κρα.
].

Fr. 48

.η[
]ρο[

Fr. 49

Top
]. cδη. ητ. ροc. ερε. [
]. . .]

Fr. 47

1] . [, horizontal bottom
4] . [, speck (left top of letter)

2] . , τ or γ . . . [, triangular letter; slightly sloping vertical

5] . [, small loop or top of ε

Fr. 48

1] . [, remains of vertical on edge

Fr. 49

1] . [, vertical
to 1)] . [, vertical trace (spacing points to 1 rather than γ)

2] . [, top of vertical; specks

Fr. 1

This fragment and fr. 2 may belong together, with fr. 1.1 and fr. 2.1 belonging to the same line, and so on down the column, since the fibres on the front seem to be continuous. If so, however, there was probably some distance between the fragments, since in fr. 2 the distance between prominent fibres is wider than in fr. 1 (as confirmed by R. A. Coles). The text itself offers no clear indications (in 5-6 *ὑπὸ Κρο[τωνιατῶ]*ν would be suitable, but there are other possibilities as well) and the text on the front also seems to be indecisive. On the whole the space needed to accommodate the fibre pattern and to allow a text that makes sense would probably be too wide and not fit the narrow columns usual in prose papyri (which only rarely contained more than c.24 letters per line; see *GMAW*² p. 7 with notes; Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* 114-15). One should therefore also bear in mind the possibility that the fragments may be from two consecutive columns each c.22 letters wide (which would accommodate the supplements suggested in 9-12), with fr. 2 coming after fr. 1 (in fr. 1.8-15 we may have the left edge of col. 1, while in fr. 2 we have the right edge and part of the right margin of the presumed col. ii).

2 The particle γάρ suggests some kind of discourse, such as a narrative text or an elaborate commentary. At the end *εκα[* could be the beginning of a verb, e.g. *εκα[λείτο*, but a word beginning with *εκα[* is equally possible.

3 We may consider the noun *φραδάς*, which is a poetic word (cf. e.g. Pi. *O.* 12.9 τῶν δὲ μελλόντων τετύφλωνται φραδαί; B. 19.17; A. *Ch.* 941; Theoc. 25.52), so that we may think of either a text with certain poetic elements or, more likely, a text with quotations from poetry. Another possibility, suggested by PJP, would be *ἀποφράδας*, which would fit the traces well. As GBD'A suggests, this adjective could indicate days on which sacrifices were offered to the dead (see Suda α 3642 s.v. *ἀποφράδες*) and thus refer to a situation such as is described for Euthycles in Call. fr. 85a.15-16.

4 A reference to Locri seems fairly certain. In the late sixth / early fifth century BC, Locri was famous for its athletes; see e.g. L. Moretti, *Olympionikai* (1957) 83f. Particularly famous were Euthycles (cf. Call. fr. 84-85a), Euthymus (Call. fr. 98-99b and 635 Pf.; Paus. 6.6.4ff.; II 222 i 12, 25), Hag-

esidamus, and Ceton. The first two were turned into heroes; see A. Höhle, *Olympia in der Politik der griechischen Staatenwelt* (1972) 101-4, and for Euthymus also 6 n.

At the beginning of the line one could consider e.g. *ἐπει[δή]*.

5 *δικαιο[*. It is uncertain to what the notion of justice refers. It may be worth considering Paus. 6.6.5 about the fining of Theagenes by the Hellanodikai after his boxing match with Euthymus, in which he had exhausted himself so that he was not able to do the pancration.

6 The noun *πύκτην* and the reference to boxing here and in 10 in combination with the mention of Locri in 4 would fit a passage about Euthymus, who was a famous boxer. He won three times at the Olympic games, in 484, 476, and 472 BC, and was beaten by Theagenes of Thasos in 480 BC; cf. Paus. 6.6.4ff. and see Ebert pp. 69ff.; Harder on Call. *Aetia* fr. 98-99b.

7-9 The combination *ὅτι μὲν οὖν* in 7 suggests a narrative or argumentative text, and the same can be said about 8 *καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα* and 9 *δὲ καί*.

8 At the end of the line WBH suggests e.g. *πά[ντα]*.

9 At the beginning of the line perhaps *ἔτι δὲ καί* as in e.g. Thuc. 1.80 etc. or, as WBH suggests, *ὅτι δὲ* responding to 7 *ὅτι μὲν* (one could also think of something like *ἄρμ[ατι]*, which would fit a context about games, but in view of *κατεπύκτευσεν* in 10 this seems less likely). At the end τῶν κρεῖ[σσόνων would be a possibility, but one could also think of an ethnic (perhaps *Κρεῖ[σαίων]* for *Κρισαίων*, although there are no other instances of this kind of spelling in this papyrus).

10 The verb *κατεπύκτευσεν* is attested twice in relation to the defeat in boxing of Amycus by Polydeuces; cf. Σ A.R. 2.98-100a *καταπυκτευθήναι* . . . αὐτὸν (sc. *Ἄμυκον*) ὑπὸ Πολυδεύκου; Σ Lyc. 516 *κατεπύκτευσαν*. The verb would fit the story of Theagenes defeating Euthymus in boxing as told in Paus. 6.11.4 *Εὐθυμόν τε ὡς κατεμαχέσατο τὸν πύκτην καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ἐπεβλήθη τῷ Θεαγένει ζημία* (cf. also 6.6.5 *ὑπερεβάλετο πυκτεύων τὸν Εὐθυμόν*).

At the end of the line τ[ο] might be the beginning of the object of *κατεπύκτευσεν*, e.g. τὸν ἄριστον, which might be combined with the plural genitive in 9.

11 One may consider *ἀκούσαι* (optative) or *ἀκούσαι* (inf.); the optative plural *ἀκούσαιτ[ε]*, which would imply some kind of address, seems less likely, because there seem to be traces of only one letter between the gap and *κροτων[*. Then a reference to Croton (e.g. *Κρότων*, *Κρότων[ος]*, *Κρότων[ι]*, *Κρότων[α]*, or possibly τ[ὴν] *Κροτων[ιατῶν]*) would fit the presumed context, as this place was famous for its athletes and was the home of victors like Astylus, Phayllus, and Milon of Croton; cf. Call. fr. 616 with Pfeiffer ad loc.; Str. 6.1.12 262c with Radt ad loc.; D.P. 369; and see in general H. A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (1964) 110ff. For Astylus cf. also Call. fr. 666; for Milon Call.(?) fr. 758. On the other hand, after the reference to 'hearing' one could also think of some form of *κρότος* 'applause' (see further on fr. 2.5). WBH attractively suggests e.g. *ἔστιν* *ἀκούσαι* τ[ὴν] *Κροτων[ιατῶν]*, 'one can hear from the people of Croton (that)' (perhaps with *ὅτι* (9)).

12 Here *ὁ καλούμε[ν]ος* *Τεμε[σαῖος]* might fit. This would call to mind the story of the boxer (cf. 6 and 10) Euthymus of Locri (cf. 4), who defeated the so-called hero of Temesa; cf. Call. fr. 98-99b; Paus. 6.6.7-11.

13 A compound with *αιολοπ[-]* is possible, but one cannot exclude other possibilities such as *αιολοπ[- or]ν ο λογ[*. In connection with *αιολοπ[-]* it may be relevant to compare Theoc. 22.34 *Κάτωρ δ' αἰολόπωλος ὃ τ' οἰνωπὸς Πολυδεύκης* from a context about the boxing match between Polydeuces and Amycus.

14 The division of the letters is uncertain, but *χ' ὦραν ε. [.] νην κ[or] χῶραν ε. [.] νην κ[* seems more likely than *χ' ὦρα νε. [or] χῶρα νε. [because of] νην or] ν ην*, which seems certain and may well be part of the accusative of an ethnic (?) adjective going with the noun ending in *-]ηνην* or in *-]ην* followed by *ἦν* or *ῆν* (as suggested by WBH).

15 Here *ἀγέ[νε]ον* is attractive and would fit the space. This adjective can refer to boys of a certain age group (the 'beardless') taking part in the games (see LSJ s.v. *ἀγένειος* II); cf. e.g. IG

XII.5 608.9 [Φ]αιδίπιδης Λιπάρου ἀγ[ενείων and 26 Ἀργεῖος Πανθείδew ἀγενείω[ν; Pi. O. 8.54; 9.89; Paus. 6.6.3. WBH considers that e.g. Ἀγξ[λα]ον would be better suited to the space ('a certain Agelaus'); cf. also fr. 8.4 n.

16 One can think of οδυς[or ο δυς[. The stray ink below ζ is hard to explain.

17 Perhaps α]κουσι[(GBD'A).

18] . . ωζη. [:]αζ could be read. A reference to ἀγωγή in the sense of 'training' would be possible.

Fr. 2

2] . . δεδρν. The end of the line calls to mind the use of oak as a wreath. Oak wreaths are attested for games held in honour of Zeus/Jupiter (the Lykaia, the Naa at Dodona, and the Capitolia) and for the Sebastia Romaea at Smyrna: see L. Robert in *L'Épigramme grecque* (Entretiens Fondation Hardt XIV) 267 = *Opera Minora Selecta* vi 403 with n. 5; LXIII 4352 fr. 5 ii 39 n. However, 'when Ovid says [*Met.* 1.445 ff.] that the original prize at the Pythian Games was an oak garland which was later changed to laurel (or bay), he is almost certainly indulging in free invention with regard to the oak' (A. S. Hollis, *ZPE* 112 (1996) 70).

3 At the end of the line perhaps δ Ἄρης. It is not easy to see how Ares would fit a context of games, but some possibilities are suggested by Pi. O. 10.14 f. (on the Locrians in a victory ode for the boxer Agesidamus of Locri) μέλει τέ σφισι Καλλιόπα / καὶ χάλκεος Ἄρης and Ebert 70.3 f. (on the boxer Athanichus, who died in a war) ὄν θούρος Ἄρης δ[ά]μ[α]cen or by Paus. 5.20.3 (on a statue of Ares at Olympia), adduced by WBH.

4 This could be the nominative γαίη or the dative without an ι adscript, but the form is unusual and attested only in later poetry (usually the nominative in poets is γαῖα, with γαίη- in oblique forms). As the line-filler does not necessarily imply the end of the preceding word, but only that, if the word continued, the next full syllable would make the line too long, one could also consider compounds such as γαίηθεν, γαιηγενής, γαιήοχος. In any case the word suggests a poetic quotation.

5 With κρο one may think of Croton (see on fr. 1.11), but there are other possibilities as well. (1) In a context of wreaths one should also consider a form of κρόταφος, as wreaths were placed 'at one's temples'; cf. Ebert 73B.4 κροτάφο[ις] θαλ[λ]όν ὄτ' ἀμφεθέμαν and 79.6 [καὶ] πίτην Ἰσθμιακὴν ἀμφε[θέμ]ην κ[ροτάφ]οις; but it would be hard to explain ὑπό. (2) One could also think of κρότος 'applause' as in e.g. Luc. *Charon* 8.11 ff. (on the dead Milon who comes) πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀμαχωτάτου τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν καταπαλαίσει τοῦ Θανάτου . . . μεμνημένος τῶν στεφάνων τούτων καὶ τοῦ κρότου. Although a more common expression is μετὰ κρότου, a context with ὑπό is also conceivable, cf. e.g. Plb. 15.32.10 κατεργήγυντο πᾶς ὁ τόπος ὑπὸ τοῦ κρότου καὶ τῆς κραυγῆς. (3) There is a story that the girl Smilax fell in love with Crocus and was transformed into the creeper *smilax* (on which see below); cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.283; Nonn. *Dion.* 12.85 f.; Plin. *NH* 16.154; H. Baumann, *Die griechische Pflanzenwelt in Mythos, Kunst und Literatur* (1982) 85.

6]σμילו. An oblique case of *Μίλων*, the famous athlete from Croton, is possible and would fit well if 5 κρο were a reference to Croton; see on Milon e.g. Call.(?) fr. 758; Str. 6.1.12 263c, where he is called ἐπιφανέστατος . . . τῶν ἀθλητῶν, and the references in Radt's n. ad loc.; Ebert pp. 182 ff. Alternatively one may think of a form of (ς)μίλος. According to LSJ, this noun is synonymous with (ς)μίλαξ in the sense of 'yew' (*Taxus baccata*), but not with (ς)μίλαξ in the sense of 'bindweed' (*Smilax aspera*), a kind of evergreen creeper which is the material for wreaths in Eur. *Ba.* 702 f. κισσίνους / στεφάνους δρυός τε μίλακός τ' ἀνθεσφόρου; 105 ff.; Ar. *Nu.* 1007 (on the plant's nature see further Dodds on Eur. *Ba.* 108; Baumann (5 n.) 85). This makes a reference to (ς)μίλος here a little less likely, but where so much is uncertain one should not exclude this possibility altogether (see also above on 5). In fact Hsch. c 1256 σμίλος· δένδρον . . . οἱ δὲ πρῖνος. ἄλλοι μίλακα, ἧ στεφανοῦνται and Nonn.

Dion. 12.85 where Smilax (see on 5) is called ἐυτεφάνοιο . . . κούρης may offer some support for the notion of the (ς)μίλος being used for wreaths.

A third possibility may be a proper name, but the only possibilities seem to be Κάμιλος (the fourth of the Cabiri according to Σ A.R. 1.916-18b) or with an itacistic error the boxer Καμύλος of Rhodes (cf. Page, *FGE* 808 f.).

7 If this is from a context about Croton and Milon, one may think of κατε[πάλασε or κατε[πύκτευσε as suggested by WBH (cf. fr. 3 i 2).

10 This could be either]ς τῶν or]ςτων. In the latter case the context would suggest something like ἀγωνι]ςτῶν or ἀνταγωνι]ςτῶν, but this does not exhaust the possibilities and one could, e.g., also think of something more specific such as παλαι]ςτῶν or παγκρατια]ςτῶν or of a superlative.

11 Either Μεγαρής ('the Megarians') or Μεγάρης of the wife of Heracles, first mentioned in *Od.* 11.269 f. For games in Megara cf. Pi. O. 7.86 on Diagoras of Rhodes, who among many victories also won ἐν Μεγάροις. In the case of Megara the wife of Heracles two points deserve notice: (1) the genitive form is poetic (the prose form being Μεγάρας); (2) Σ Pi. I. 4.104b mentions games established for her children, who were killed by Heracles: κατ' ἔτος Θηβαῖοι ἐναγίζουσι τε τοῖς παισὶ καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους ἄγουσι.

14-16 In 14 one may think of e.g. τὴν ἀγο[ράν], which would go well with the reference to an inscription in 15 τοῖς ἐπίγραμμα[μα]. One could then think of a statue with an inscription for an athlete in his home town. There is evidence of victors' statues in Locri for Euthycles (Call. fr. 85a.9 ff.) and for Euthymus (Call. fr. 99), though without mention of the agora as location. Statues for victors with inscriptions at the sites of the games are also often mentioned in Pausanias (cf. e.g. 3.8.2; 5.20.8; 5.21.4 ff.; 6.1.6 f. etc.) and victors' epigrams have been collected by Ebert. It is conceivable that this text, like Pausanias, uses these inscriptions as sources, as in e.g. Paus. 6.1.7 ἐνίκησε δὲ ὁ Πολυκλής ἵπποις, ὡς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ λέγει.

In 16 νίκη seems likely, and starting from the notion of a victor's inscription being quoted (as in e.g. Paus. 6.4.6) PJP very tentatively suggests: τοῖς ἐπίγραμμα[μα οὕτως εχόν· "Νίκη]ν [[εστ]ησεν σσ- (proper name) ἰδι-]]]αὶς παλ]αμαίων" ας δε[(= fr. 3 i 1).

One may also think of an accusative with infinitive as in e.g. Paus. 6.16.4 Ἀριστέιδῃ δὲ Ἡλείω γενέσθαι μὲν ὄπλου νίκη ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι, γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ διαύλου Πυθοῖ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δηλοῖ or of νίκη as the object of a verb of 'taking' as in e.g. Paus. 3.8.1 νίκη ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικὴν or 6.15.6 νίκας . . . λαβόντα.

Fr. 3 col. i

1 The likeliest supplement seems to be παλ]αμαίων, a poetic word with a poetic dative. For hands in a context of athletics one may think of the applauding audience (cf. e.g. *AP* 16.361.3 f.) or of hands as an athletic instrument, as in wrestling (perhaps suggested by line 2) or in the pancration; cf. e.g. Ebert 76B.7 ἐπτά γὰρ ἐκ παίδων παλάμας μόνος οὐκ ἀνέπανσα, 40.3, 43.4, all about pancratiasts, for whom the force of their hands was particularly important; for this particular form in an elegiac inscription, cf. *IG* XII.2 129.7. If, as the form suggests, we have a poetic quotation here, it may also be relevant to recall passages such as Pi. O. 10.21 θεοῦ σὺν παλάμαϊς, *P.* 1.48, *N.* 10.65, about the 'plans' of the gods.

2 One may think of the compound verb κα]τεπάλασεν (Lobel), as in Paus. 6.15.3 ἐν Ἰσθμῶν παλαίτας κατεπάλασεν ἄνδρας about Cleitomachus of Thebes, but also of πάλας or of πάλασεν (which is hapax in Pi. *N.* 8.27). In all cases the notion of wrestling could perhaps be connected with the mention of 'hands' in the previous line.

4 νύκτας suits the traces better than πύκτας. Then 'πολλά [, πολλά-][κις, etc. (line 1 gives the margin)' (WBH).

5 Here *ἐπαύσατο* is likely. The verb would fit passages about athletic defeat, as in Ebert 76b.7 (quoted on 1) and 39.6 [πα]ύσας δ' ἀντι[πάλους, but also recalls Dio Chrys. 31.95 ὡς δ' ἐπαύσατο καὶ ἦκεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα about the retirement of Theagenes.

6 Some form of *ἐπιδείκνυμι* is likely and would fit the context, as it may refer to athletic performance; cf. e.g. Pi. *N.* 11.14 ἐν τ' ἀέθλοισιν ἀριστεύων ἐπέδειξεν βίαν; *P.* 4.253; Ebert 40.3 ῥώμην δὲ χερῶν ἐπ[ε]δέξ[ι]ξ[αν]; GVI 425.4.

7 Perhaps] καὶ τῶν (GBD'A).

Fr. 4

The recto is blank except for remains of one line at the top. This blank space may be the lower margin of the documentary text, but in that case the literary text, which occupies the whole height of the fragment, must have had a lower margin that was surprisingly short in comparison.

4 Here ὑπ[ε]ρβεβλημ[ένος or ὑπ[ε]ρβέβληκ[ε vel sim. seems a likely supplement and could refer to somebody surpassing others, as in e.g. Paus. 8.20.3 τὰς ἄλλας ὑπερβεβλημένους παρθένους, Str. 8.3.23 348c Ὀμήρου δ' εἰς ταῦτα ὑπερβεβλημένου πάντας, or to a strong emotion, as in e.g. Σ Pi. *P.* 4.213a ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἐξαιρέτως καὶ ὑπερβεβλημένως ἦρθη. At the beginning of the line τὸν may suggest the accusative ὑπ[ε]ρβεβλημ[ένον.

5 Perhaps one may read -]τα δυνατὸν εἶνα[ι, with the adjective used as in Pi. *N.* 9.39 χερσὶ καὶ ψυχῇ δυνατοί, but -]τ' ἀδύνατον cannot be excluded.

6 Several divisions of the letters are possible. One could e.g. think of ἀπαντῆσαι, a form well-attested in (particularly later) Greek prose, as in e.g. D.S. 12.9.6 πρὸς τὴν μάχην ἀπαντῆσαι.

7 After the paragraphus the words ὁ τῆς ἐλαίας κτέφ[ανος might begin a new section and suggest that the text may have been arranged according to types of wreaths. Even so, as we have only this one example and the other fragments do not particularly point to an emphasis on wreaths, the point should not carry too much weight in the identification of the 'genre' and general contents of the papyrus. The paragraphus could also simply mark sentence-end, in which case the sentence in 7 may have begun in the latter part of 6.

A garland of wild olive was awarded to Olympic victors, and the word ἐλαία is often used in this connection: cf. e.g. Pi. *O.* 4.11 ἐλαίαι στεφανωθεὶς Πικατίδι; 11.13; Hdt. 8.26.2; Ebert 68.1 f.; LXIII 4352 fr. 5 ii 39 n.

Fr. 5

1 Perhaps *Μαντι]γεύς* as part of a reference to a victor from Mantinea, as in e.g. Pi. *O.* 10.70 (Samus, the son of Halirrhothius and grandson of Poseidon, who won the chariot race in the first Olympic games); Paus. 6.7.1 (Pytharchus); 6.9.9 (Agamator).

2]τρικολ[. This is probably a reference to winning three times in Olympia. There are other references to winning several times in certain games in fr. 9.2 τρις νε[] and 12.3 τρις ι[]. The motif of several victories is also well-attested in epinician poems and victory epigrams and mentioned by Pausanias; cf. e.g. Pi. *O.* 7.81 ff.; 8.74 ff.; *P.* 11.11 ff.; *I.* 1.10 ff.; *AP* 13.14, 15 and 19; 16.52; Ebert 25, 34 and 35; Paus. 6.4.6. See further W. H. Race, 'The Six Crowns at Pindar, *Isthmian* 1.10-12', *GRBS* 30 (1989) 27-39.

For victors winning three times in Olympia see Moretti, *Olympionikai* 13.1 (Euthymus of Locri); 23.1 (Dorieus of Rhodes); 25.3 (Sostratus).

3 Here too one may consider *Μαντι]γεύς*. Then πρ[] could be a reference to the first Olympic games, as in Diphilus iamb. 1-2 W. ὁ Μαντινεὺς Σῆμος, | δὲ πρῶτος ἄρματ' ἤλασεν παρ' Ἀλφειῶν.

4]νδαρε[. Some form of ἀρετή seems likely and would fit the presumed context; cf. e.g. Pi. *O.* 7.89 ἄνδρα τε πὺξ ἀρετὰν εὐρόντα.

5 If the context is still about the Olympic games (see on 2) one could consider ῥε]έθρω ν[] or

ῥε]έθρων [as part of a reference to the river Alpheus and possibly from a poetic quotation; cf. e.g. Pi. *O.* 9.18 Ἀλφειοῦ . . . ῥέεθρον; 13.36 ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ | ῥέεθροισιν. Another possibility would be a form of πτολίεθρον or of πλέθρον in a reference to running.

6]πεδω[. If part of one word, perhaps some form of πέδον, but one could also think of e.g. ἀ]πέδακ[ε, as GBD'A suggests.

Fr. 7

2 One may read]αθλη and think of some form of ἀθλημα (GBD'A) vel sim. (the traces do not suggest ἀθλητής).

Fr. 8

4] Φαρς[αλ-. The brothers Agias, Telemachus, and Agelaus were famous Pharsalian athletes of the fifth century (CEG II 794-5 = Ebert 43-5). Ἀγέ[λα]ον is a possible supplement at fr. 1.15' (WBH).

Fr. 9

1-3 These lines are about someone who won (several times?) in the Pythian games, three times in Nemea, and perhaps in Pellene. Between Nemea and Pellene there would be room for another place and in 1 there might be a reference to Olympia at the end of the line. We know of no athlete who fits the bill exactly, but there is evidence of similar frequent victors (see on fr. 5.2). In particular, *AP* 13.19 on Nicolaides of Corinth comes close to what we have here: he won once in the Pythian games, at the Panathenaea, thrice in the Isthmian games, thrice in Nemea and four times in Pellene, as well as on several other occasions (but not, apparently, in Olympia).

As in fr. 1.9-12 one would need at least 21 letters in line 1 (e.g. ολ[υμπιαί τρις | πυ]θολ).

Fr. 11

3]νηρω[. There are several possibilities, including e.g. a form of πονηρός, but also τδ]ν ἦρω [, which may be compared to Paus. 6.6.7 ἐμαχέσατο πρὸς τὸν Ἡρω about Euthymus fighting the Hero of Temesa; cf. also Ael. *VH* 8.18; Str. 6.1.5 255-6C.

4 If the preceding line were about Euthymus here Καί]κίον referring to Euthymus' father, the river Caecinus, might be a possibility (but the reading is not entirely certain); cf. for the connection between Euthymus and the river Paus. 6.6.4; Ael. *VH* 8.18.

Fr. 12

3 Perhaps a reference to winning thrice in the Isthmian games. This is recorded of Dicon of Syracuse in *AP* 13.15.3 and of Nicolaides of Corinth in *AP* 13.19.5 as well as of an unknown victor in Pi. fr. 6a(h). On multiple victories see further on fr. 5.2.

Fr. 13

1] εαγεν[. Here we may have a reference to Theagenes of Thasos, a famous and successful athlete, who among other things defeated Euthymus in boxing in Olympia. His career is described in Paus. 6.11.2-9 (including a list of his victories in 6.11.5); see also on fr. 1.5. However, this does not exhaust the possibilities and one could alternatively divide the letters as] ε αγεν[and e.g. consider a form of ἀγένειος as in fr. 1.15 (see n.).

2 Perhaps a reference to Theagenes winning in Nemea. Cf. Paus. 6.11.5 and Ebert 37.10 on his winning nine times at the Nemean Games.

Fr. 17

¹ The most promising division of the letters seems to be *κενός περ*]. In a context of athletics this recalls phrases such as Ebert 73A.4 *τέχνη γάρ οὐ κενά γυμνάσιον*; IG XII.1 40.6 [*ἐσθ*]λοῖς οὐ κενὰ μόχθων χάρις. In 2 *χαίρων* may support this notion.

Fr. 44

Probably in a different hand: note e.g. damaged *μ* in 2 beginning with a curved stroke instead of an upright (WBH).

Fr. 49

'This fragment is in a different hand (note delta and sigma) and the upper margin (apparently preserved to its original height) is much shorter than that in fr. 3. (The recto is blank except at the very bottom and provides no guidance.)' (WBH).

ἡ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱέρει[α would fit the traces. For the expression cf. e.g. Plu. *Coni. praec.* 138B.

M. A. HARDER

5193. HISTORY OF GAMES

40 5B.III/L(1-2)b

7.2 × 20 cm

Fourth century

Two fragments combine to form one column of 29 lines. The upper margin survives to 3.5 cm, the lower to 0.75 cm; the left-hand margin is lost, but the run of the text suggests that line 27 is complete at the beginning; the right-hand margin remains in the lower part of the column, at full width (1.2 cm) in lines 12-13, where a faint trace of the next column can be seen. This gives a roll height of at least 20 cm; column height 15.7 cm, width 6.5 cm, lines of c.18-20 letters. The back is blank.

The hand is a version of Severe Style, written assertively with a thick pen that produces a certain contrast of thick and thin strokes. Increasing contrast marks the development of Byzantine versions ('sloping majuscule'), and we would assign this specimen to the transitional group (e.g. *GMAW*² 49 = XXXIV 2699 and *GBEBP* 2b = P. Chester Beatty XI) anchored round similar scripts in the Theophanes archive (*GMAW*² 70, *GBEBP* 2a), which have an objective date of c.325. Letters may be reduced in size at line-end. Elided vowel omitted, 9; *scriptio plena*, 20 (both doubtful readings). Diaeresis on initial iota, 26; no other lectional signs. No clear example of iota adscript written or omitted.

The earlier part of the text mentions Isthmian (Games), legislation, Sicyonians and Corinthians, (their tyrants) Kleisthenes and Periander, and an education with (athletic) exercises. In 21ff. the author waxes indignant about an evil (*τὸ δεινόν*) that spread from the Isthmian to the other Games, and something shameless in relation to *ἱερνίκαι*, i.e. victors in such Games. To understand the theme we need to identify *τὸ δεινόν*. Various traditional elements might contribute:

(1) *Victors and scandals*. From Xenophanes on, authors criticize successful athletes as overprivileged and socially useless. See S. Müller, *Das Volk der Athleten* (1995) for an overview of the material. Add LIII 3699 (a) col. iv (II AD), a dialogue about the futility of wealth and strength.

(2) *Isthmian Games*, which the text seems to regard as a precedent for the organization of the other Games. Mythography recognized, apart from the contest organized by Poseidon and Helios (Eumel. fr. 8 B. = 22 W.), a first foundation by Sisyphus in memory of Melicertes, and a second by Theseus, who developed a local night-time ceremony into a festival accessible to all Greeks (Paus. 2.1.3; Plu. *Thes.* 25.4-7; IG XII(5) 444 ep. 20). A third stage is the historical reorganization as one of the Panhellenic Games, at some date in the early sixth century. See further R. L. Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography* ii (2013) 483-4.

(3) *Kleisthenes and Periander*. The Isthmian Games naturally fell under Corinthian hegemony, but Periander has no recorded connection with them: in fact, according to Solinus 7.14, they were discontinued by his father Cypselus and reinstated only after the fall of the Cypselids (traditionally in 582). An Olympic chariot victory is assigned to Periander by Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 178, doubted e.g. by Moretti, *Olympionikai* p. 182 no. 1017. Kleisthenes, on the other hand, has strong associations with games: he won chariot victories at the Pythian (582) and Olympic Games (576 or 572); founded new Pythian Games at Sicyon, with his spoils from the First Sacred War; and organized athletic competitions for the suitors who assembled to bid for his daughter Agariste (Herodotus 6.126). The history of Sicyon forms the subject of another handsome fragment, XI 1365 (MP³ 2181, LDAB 404), but the script and format of that piece show that it does not belong to the same roll.

(4) *Paideia*. It may be worth remembering the (legendary) activities of their contemporary Solon. His legislation fixed or limited the cash reward payable to an Olympic victor at 500 dr., to an Isthmian victor at 100 dr. (Plu. *Sol.* 23.3, D.L. 1.55). Diodorus 9.2.5 shows him doubting the civic value of athletes, but he can still appear in Lucian's *Anacharsis* defending the part of athletics in Athenian society.

(5) *Askemata* were a central part of the athletic career as it developed; and so athletes can be referred to as *ἀσκηταί* (e.g. Plato, *Resp.* 3.404A); see in general J. Jüthner, *Die athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen* i (1965) 191-7. Classical critics object to the regime or specifically the diet; and such criticism may involve a contrast between an earlier ideal and a later degeneration, a stage of self-training and a stage of professional trainers. Galen, *Adhort.* 13.10 contrasts natural strength with artificial training (*πάννυ χαριέντως οὐτος ὁ μῦθος ἐπιδείκνυσι τὴν ἀθλητικὴν ἰσχὺν οὐ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων οὐσαν ἀσκημάτων*). So Philostratus' *Gymnastikos* refers to great athletes like Milo, and their mythical predecessors, and notable achievers even *ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων*: but 'now', though natural endowment is the same as ever, a false system of training ruins athletes (§2, cf. §§43-54). This 'now' must be taken in its rhetorical sense: Philostratus speaks as if he were living in the fourth century BC,

with the corrupting effects of Sicilian gourmandise (§44, borrowed from Plato, *Resp.* 3.404D).

(6) *Stephanoi and prizes*. The four great contests, from the sixth century onwards, offered no prize except the victor's wreath. However, the Pythian Games at least were said to have offered real prizes at first (e.g. Paus. 10.7.5); the victors could be said to have lost by the change. On the other hand, they received real rewards from their cities: rewards in kind, like the *sitesis*, but also in cash, of the sort regulated by Solon and regretted by Xenophanes fr. 2.9 (*δῶρον*). The development of multi-victors and the professional association in the Hellenistic and Roman period would encourage such criticism.

Against this background, we have considered two possible scenarios. Our text seems to envisage a change for the worse (*τὸ δεινόν*), which has some connection with Kleisthenes and Periander, i.e. with the age of the Tyrants in or just after which the four great *agones* took their final shape. This development might be:

- (i) the change from simple exercise to systematic training (*ἀσκήματα*);
- (ii) the change from heroic athletics to the world of *ιερονίκα*.

These might be combined, as they are in Philostratus (but there the timetable is different: Milo, who operated after the reorganization, still belongs to the golden age; the change for the worse falls in the late fifth century). If so, the author anticipates more recent debates about amateurism and professionalism in sport: in the system that he attacks, excessive training and grandiose titles go hand in hand.

As to the larger context, the tone of righteous indignation suggests rhetorical argument rather than historical exposition. One possibility among many: an exercise in attacking Aeschines, who himself frequented gymnasia (1.135-40) and argued that the athletic crown was the true standard of *arete* (3.178-80). But Olympic Games, at least, figure more generally in the quasi-historical world of the declaimers, see D. A. Russell, *Greek Declamation* (1983) 65-7. The date of composition remains uncertain: Hellenistic at earliest (*κατατολμῶν* 25-6 apparently first in Polybius, *ιερονίκης* first c.130 BC, see 26-7 n.), but perhaps much later.

We are much indebted to Dr Daniela Colomo for her detailed collation of the original papyrus.

	]καμμενης.ου[		]καμμενης.ου[
	]...[.]...].νοσα[		]...[.]...].νοσα[
	]...ικυων...κα.[		]...Cικυώνιοι κα.[
	]δ.και.[.]ελλ[		]δ.και.[.]ελλ[
5	]μεγοι.[.]αυτο.[	5	]μεγοι.[.]αυτο.[
	]η[.]...[.]...].ως[		]η[.]...[.]...].ως[
	]δευτερ.[.]ρ.[.]		]δευτερ.[.]ρ.[.]
	]ανισμ.ωντου.[		]αν Ίσθμίων του.[
	]νδεπαρ.θμια.[		]νδε παρ' Ίσθμια.[
10	]ασεκαλεσαν[.]σπ.[	10	]αε ἐκάλεσαν [.]σπ.[
	]ομουθεσ.σα[		]νόμου θεέσεωσ α[
	]...αγωνω.εισαγω[		]...ἀγώνων εἰσαγω-
	]...ιελλησινεγενετο [		γή] τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐγένετο.
	]ουθενθαυμαστονσι [		]...οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν Cι-
15	]...ουσκαικορινω[.]ου.[	15	κνω]νίουσ καὶ Κορινω[.]ουσ
	]κλεισθενησκαί [		]...Κλεισθένης καὶ
	]ροσενπα...[		Περίαν]δρος ενπα...[
	]...ντοπαιδει [		]...ντοπαιδεί-
	]ρατουτοιαιυξήσαι [		α.πα]ρὰ τούτοισ αὐξήσαι
20	]αα[.]κηματωνανα[	20	με]τὰ ἀ[.]κημάτων ἀνα-
	]ναπογαρτωνισμ.[		λόγ]ων. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν Ίσθμί-
	]πυρ.ευθητοδεινον [		ων] ἐπυρρεύθη τὸ δεινὸν
	]...τουαλλουσαγωνασ [		ἐ]πὶ τοὺσ ἄλλουσ ἀγῶνασ
	]...αγαιδωσ [		]...ἀναιδῶσ
25	]...σχντωσκατα [	25	καὶ ἀ]γαισχύντωσ κατα-
	]...ντωναυ.νιερο [		τολμώντων αὐτῶν ἱερο-
	]νικασηστεφανηφορουσ [		νίκασ ἢ στεφανηφόρουσ
	]...ις.αιτουσαγω[		]...εἶσθαι τοὺσ ἀγω[
	]...ιταυτην[.]		]...ἐ]πὶ ταύτην [.]

1 c., trace at top level, possibly remains of high stop (in that case, short blank to right?)
 2]... , top and bottom arc; perhaps upper part of ε or ε]... , foot of upright []... , in this area displaced scrap with strong vertical or horizontal stroke]... , trace at letter-top level 3]... , abraded traces on damaged surface; right-hand tips of c?]... , foot of sloping upright; ink on displaced fibres, perhaps right-hand arc of circle; top and foot of heavy upright []... , traces (upright?) on broken edge 4]... , lower half of diagonal rising from left to right δ... , horizontal at line level with trace above its right-hand end []... , upright]... , point at line level 5 ι... , ink level with letter-tops []... , short narrow vertical trace on edge below line level 6]... , foot of diagonal rising from left to right; descending ink (tail of λ or λ?); lower tip of stroke rising from left to right; top of round letter? 7 ρ... , upper left-hand arc of circle? 8 μ... , lower part of

upright? . . . [foot of sloping upright 9] . . . ink rising from left to right high in line ρ . . . first, point level with letter-tops . . . [upright 10] . . . [oblique back as of ε or c 11] . . . minimal trace on single fibre projecting to the left, roughly at mid-height c . . . cap and back as of ε or c; dot at mid-height and, 2.5 mm further right, point level with letter tops 12] . . . first, remains of horizontal at line level, joined at right by two short diagonals combined as < (together, lower loop of β and part of upper?); second, lower part of upright, trace of cross-bar joining on right (ε, η?); third, point on edge at two-thirds height with another vertically below at line level φ . . . sloping upright, further ink to right (oblique and second upright of η?) 13] . . . right-hand tip of high horizontal touching upper arc of small loop 15] . . . two traces at two-thirds height on projecting fibre . . . [part of sloping upright 17] . . . diagonal sloping down from left to right, junction near top (λ, λ, λ) . . . [sloping upright immediately after α; ink at mid-height below damaged patch; tapering oblique tail below line 18] . . . [a short ascending oblique on the line 20] . . . ink on straggling fibre 21] . . . top of upright . . . [lower end of sloping upright below line level 22] . . . tip of horizontal touching π just below the top ρ . . . upright, horizontal extending rightward at the top 23] . . . right-hand half of cross-bar, with traces suggesting an upright on the right; sloping stroke 24] . . . high speck; trace on edge at top level; remains of diagonal rising from left to right, then trace almost at top level; perhaps η; high diagonal trace on edge; foot of upright; lower half of θ?; abraded traces, perhaps e.g. right-hand side of γ followed by base and part of left-hand side of c 25] . . . speck at top level; traces of descending oblique joining sloping upright; minimal trace at line level 26] . . . upright joined at the top on the right by a short cross-bar; small left-hand arc on edge at two-thirds height; foot of diagonal rising from left to right and perhaps foot of diagonal descending from left to right; scattered ink from two more letters υ . . . sloping upright; two traces at upper level, second perhaps right-hand arc 28] . . . point on edge, level with letter-tops c . . . ε or damaged ε 29] . . . horizontal at mid-height joining (lower part of) upright . . . [high cross-bar

12 ff. . . Games came to be introduced to the Greeks. [So] it is no wonder that the Sicyonians and Corinthians, as Kleisthenes and Periander [wished in their drunkenness?], augmented their (the Greeks') education with [similar?] training exercises. For the horror flashed across from the Isthmia to the other Games . . . with them daring, shamelessly and indecently, to [make] the contestants "sacred victors" or "crown-wearers" . . .

1] καμμένης . φν]. On the face of it, as Dr R.-L. Chang observes, a participial form, i.e. (-)καμμένης, (-)εσκαμμένης.

2-3 ἀ[γώ]ν]α Κυκλώνιοι καθ[ιστά]σι?

4 DC suggests Ἑλλ]άδα καὶ τ[ὸν] Ἑλλ[ληνα].

7 δεύτερο[ν]? A second stage in the history of the (Isthmian) Games? Myth certainly recognizes two stages; see introd.

9 παρ' ἱεθμῶν . . . [probably -ίων. We do not see how 8-10 fit together. παρ' ἱεθμῶν (one word) exists, but it seems always in the derived sense 'gullet', and in the plural '(inflammation of the) tonsils'.

10 ἱερονίκ]α?

10-11 Very doubtfully, [ἄ]σπερ[ρ] | ἕκ τινος] νόμου θέσεως. But the supplement in 11 looks rather long; and in any case the stripped area before]σπ[may have been blank.

11-12 α[. . .] . . . : perhaps ἀ[κρι]βής.

14-21 might be reconstructed thus (see detailed notes):

15 ὤστ'] οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν Ci-
κνω]γίους καὶ Κορινθ[ί]ους,
ὤσπερ] Κλειθένης καὶ

Περὶαν]δρος ἐν παροι-
νία ἐβού]λ[ο]ντο, παιδεί-
ας πα]ρὰ τούτοις ἀξή]χαι
20 με]τὰ ἀ[κ]κ[η]μάτων ἀνα-
λόγ]ων.

14 οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν: a common formula, often introduced by διό, ἐξ ὧν, καί, ὥστε, and followed by εἰ or by the accusative and infinitive.

17 εἴπα . . . [: εἴπαροι] would suit the ink; then perhaps line end, but there would be space for up to 2 more letters (or 3, if written small as in 15) before the right-hand margin.

18-19 παιδεῖ] [α: cf. Thuc. 2.39.1 ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις οἱ μὲν ἐπιπόνῳ ἀκκῆσει εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρείον μετέρχονται. The singular παιδεῖ] [α seems rather long for the space.

20 ἀ[κ]κ[η]μάτων: commonly of systematic exercise, physical or intellectual. See Jüthner i 192 f.; *RE* Suppl. VII 50 ff. So e.g. Xen. *Hierh.* 8.6 καὶ γὰρ τῶν μὲν γυμνικῶν ἀκκ[η]μάτων τὰ πολλὰ ἐν ἰδρώτι ἐκπονοῦνται, τῆς δὲ ἵππικῆς τὰ πλείστα μεθ' ἡδονῆς.

20-21 ἀνα]λόγ]ων suits the space well (better than e.g. ἀνα]ξί]ων). But should it mean 'similar' (to those already used for the Isthmia)? or 'proportionate' (to their purpose, or by contrast with excessive training)?

22 ἐπυρεύθη, 'was transmitted' (like a message through a chain of beacons).

24-5 Cf. e.g. [Dem.] XXV 68 (LXXVIII 5150) ὁ δὲ ἀναιδῆς . . . τολμᾶν λέγειν δι' ἀναίχυν-
ντίαν, Euseb. *PE* 1.2.5 ἀναιδῶς . . . καὶ ἀναίχυντως. Before ἀναιδῶς possibly εὐθῆς.

26-7 ἱερονίκ]α καὶ στεφανηφόρος. For the history of ἱερονίκ]α see S. Remijsen, *ZPE* 177 (2011) 97-109, who finds the first epigraphic example c.130 BC; W. J. Slater, *ZPE* 182 (2012) 170, 174-5. In the Roman period, the term commonly refers to members of the international associations of athletes, and often in combination with στεφανίτης. στεφανίτης can also describe the ἀγών, otherwise called στεφανηφόρος (Hdt. 5.102, And. 4.2).

28 . . .]εἰςθαι: infinitive governed by κατατολμώντων? e.g. ποι]εῖσθαι.

28-9 ἀγω]νι]σ[τ]ὰς ἐ]πι would fit the space.

W. B. HENRY / P. J. PARSONS

5194. ENCOMIUM OF THE LOGOS

49 5B.99/D(18-21)b

6.5 × 18.6 cm

Second/third century

This piece (MP³ 2527.1; LDAB 7077; CPP 330) was first edited by A. Świderek, *Eos* 56 (1966) 83-6; among secondary literature mentioning it, see: L. Pernot, *La Rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain* (1993) i 65; F. Pordomingo in J. A. Fernández Delgado et al. (edd.), *Escuela y literatura en Grecia antigua* (2007) 421-3. Restoration has eliminated the vertical fold mentioned in the ed. pr. and a small fold at the start of line 27.

A single column is preserved, written along the fibres; the back is blank. The column consists of 35 lines, preceded by the initial title, arranged over two lines. Upper margin is preserved to c.1 cm; lower margin to c.1.2 cm; left-hand margin to c.2 cm. 5194 could represent either a single sheet or part of a roll (probably but

not certainly the beginning, since the title stands at the top of the column). It is not clear whether the text ended with the column, or continued into another. If it continued, we might have a sheet with more than one column, like the *Encomium of the Fig*, XVII 2084, or a roll collecting various progymnasmata, like the rhetorical anthology P. Mil. Vogl. I 20.

The hand, smallish and generally upright, can be ascribed to the Severe Style. Some irregularities and variations in size can be noticed: compare, for example, the second and third alphas in line 4; the broad gamma of line 21 with those of lines 5 and 6; the very small theta of line 7 with those of lines 28, 29 and 30. As WBH observes, the execution is more careful in the title and first sentence (where the writer heightens the more formal effect by adding two rough breathings). Α and Δ can be very similar (see the second Α in line 37); the first Α in line 7 has an oval loop slightly inclined to the right instead of the wedge shape of the other alphas. Among objectively datable papyri in this style, a close parallel is Π 232 (Pl. IV), ascribed to the second/third century on the basis of the cursive on the back, also assigned to the second/third century.

To judge by the most plausible supplements, the letter count varies from line to line: line 6 has 22½ letters, line 16 24½, line 17 22½, line 24 20½ (counting iota as a half-letter). Of course, one has to take into account not only the main feature of the Severe Style, viz. contrast between narrow round letters and broad square ones, but also the somewhat irregular execution of the script in 5194. In such conditions, the actual line length may be a better guide than the letter count, and that ranges between 7.4 cm (24) and 8.1 cm (3).

Punctuation and reading marks are due to the same hand, and probably copied as part of the text. Paragraphus with high stop 12, perhaps 19 (stop lost in lacuna?); high stop without paragraphus 5, 25?, 31, 35; high stop where paragraphus might be lost in lacuna 8, 15. Middle stop (without paragraphus) 23 (see 19–23 n.). It seems that the scribe used paragraphus to mark major divisions, not for every sentence-end. No elision marks: unmarked elision 5, 14 (δέ), *scriptio plena* 3, 10 (-α), 26 (τε). Rough breathing of the first type (*GMAW*² pp. 11–12) occurs twice (4, 5). Iota adscript is not written in the three places that require it (4, 12, 35, all dative -ωι). There are itacistic spellings (ει for ι 27 and 32). A correction by the same hand but slightly smaller than the main text, a complete word added above the line, occurs at 10.

5194 is very likely the work of a student and represents an instructive example of the progymnasma called *ἐγκώμιον*. The subject of this encomium—*Logos* as attribute of the god Hermes—belongs to the category of *πράγματα*, which includes abstract things such as activities and moral virtues, according to the standard handbooks; see Theon, *Prog.* ix, p. 78.16–19 Patillon–Bolognesi; [Hermog.] *Prog.* vii 1, p. 194 Patillon; Aphth. *Prog.* viii 2, p. 131 Patillon; Nicol. *Prog.* p. 57.9–13 Felten. Interestingly, in Nicolaus' passage, Rhetoric is mentioned among the pos-

sible topics. Aphthonius offers as a full-scale example the encomium of *σοφία* (*Prog.* viii 10, pp. 134–7 Patillon), comparable to that of *δικαιοσύνη* ascribed to Libanius (VIII 257–61 Foerster). Among the encomia surviving on papyrus, note the piece on *αἰδώς* preserved in P. Lond. Lit. 193 fr. 1 (II/III), and the sketchy encomium of *τάξις* transmitted by LXXVI 5093 fr. 1+2 → ii 9–32. For further detail on progymnastic encomia and their relationship with high literature, see 5093 introd., pp. 89–90, and fr. 1+2 → ii 9 n.

Some literary reminiscences can be detected. Much of the material looks back to Isocrates (see 19–23 n., 28–31 n.); the opening may have been modelled on Xenophon (3 n.); the writer may affirm his culture with tags from epic (8–10 n.) and Pindar (19–23 n.). This is hardly surprising: Isocrates and Xenophon belong to the canonical models of rhetorical training (see, for instance, Theon, *Prog.* ii, pp. 12–13 Patillon–Bolognesi on the issue of imitation; pp. 102–4 on the practice of reading), while the influence of poetry on progymnastic practice is well-known (see R. Webb in S. E. Porter (ed.), *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric* (1997) 346). In the context of traditional rhetorical education, note the Attic form *τῆμε[ρον]* (II n.), and the avoidance of hiatus within the sentence.

The reference to 'the present festival', clearly in honour of Hermes, father of the *Logos* (4–5, 11), suggests that the piece was composed to be performed at this celebration, possibly in the Gymnasium, possibly as part of a student competition. On the identification of the festival, see 5 n.; on Hermes as god of gymnasia (VII 1015 9 *γυμνασίων* . . . *ἐπίσκοπον*), see 5093 introd., pp. 89–90; on such competitions in the Graeco-Roman world, see Pernot, *La Rhétorique de l'éloge* i 63–4, and A. Stramaglia in L. Del Corso, O. Pecere (edd.), *Libri di scuola e pratiche didattiche* (2010) i 130–35, who singles out the *ἀγώνες* held at the *Capitolia*. Two other compositions found at Oxyrhynchus seem to fit the same context: the above-mentioned 2084 (III), *Encomium of the Fig*, the fruit sacred to Hermes, and a set of verses from the same find, VII 1015 (III), originally entitled *Ἑρμοῦ ἐγκώμιον*, then *εἰς τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐγκώμιον* (for Theon, the gymnasiarch (?) whose praises occupy most of the poem). For a comparable piece, perhaps also composed for the festival of the god, see the encomium of Dionysus in P. Köln VII 286. The *Hermeneumata Montepessulana* (CGL III p. 285.12–18 = p. 656 § 6) mention the composition of a progymnastic encomium on Jupiter Capitolinus (cf. Stramaglia, l. c. 135 with n. 70).

1015, where a cursive hand has added substantial variants between the lines, has been taken as the author's autograph (T. Dorandi, *ZPE* 87 (1991) 20); and similarly LXVIII 4647, *Encomium of the Horse* (see introd.), since it is hastily written and poorly spelled. 5194 may provide another example, but the only real evidence is the script, which loses discipline as the column descends: there are no variants, just a single correction, and the orthography is more than competent.

The god Hermes, with *Logos* as his attribute, could be identified with the syncretic deity Hermes/Thoth worshipped in Egypt (see G. Fowden, *The Egyptian*

Hermes (1986), esp. 22-4, 68, 75-6; cf. below, 3-4 n.). However, 5194 shows no influence of any Hermetic doctrine in a strict sense.

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	$\overline{\lambda\omicron} \overline{\omicron\upsilon}$ $\overline{\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omega\mu\iota\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}}$	$\overline{\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon}$ $\overline{\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omega\mu\iota\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}}$
	τομε . υ[] ρημα . . ο[]	τὸ μὲν εὔρημα ὃ λό[γος τοῦ θεοῦ
	ὠκαιτηνπαρ . υσα . []	ᾧ καὶ τὴν παρούσαν []
5	πανηγυ . ιν' ὄσαδα[]	5 πανήγυριν' ὄσα δ' ἄ[ν τὸν λόγον
	υλο[.] γη μεντονε[]	εὐλογίης . μεν τὸν Ἐ[ρμῆν ἐπαι-
	εσομεθατονπ []	νεσόμεθα τὸν πατέρ[α ὄντα τοῦ
	[.] γου' κα[.] γαραν . ιη . []	λ[ό]γου· κα[] γὰρ ἂν εἶη . []
	τατοννυ . [.] . ι . . . []	στατον νῦν μ[] . . . ιστ[] προσ-
10	κοντα . ποδουνα[]	10 ἦκοντα ἔπαι[ον] ἄποδοῦνα[ι
	τεκαιθυομεντημ . []	ὄτε καὶ θύομεν τήμε[ρον τῶ
	θ . ω' αλλοσμενουνη[]	θεῶ . ἄλλος μὲν οὖν η[]
	οτιεπ[.] εινεγν . []	λο τι ἐπ[α] .] μείν ἔγνω[]
	ωσδουκανεπαι . []	πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπαι[ν]
15	[] ω' οτιγαρνευτυ[]	15 [] ω; ὅτι γὰρ ἂν εὐτυ[]
	οσαγαθ . υτουλογ[]	ος ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ λόγ[ου, οὐκ εἰς τὰ
	παρονταμόνον . []	παρόντα μόνον, ἀ[λλὰ εἰς τὸν ἄ-
	πανταχρον . ν . []	παντα χρόνον . []
	υκλειανεκαρπω[]	εὔκλειαν ἐκαρπώ[σατο· συν-
20	ελοντιγαρειπει . []	20 ἐλόντι γὰρ εἰπεῖν []
	ολογοσπαντω[]	ὃ λόγος πάντω[ν θνητῶν
	καιαθανατ[]	τε καὶ ἀθανάτ[ων βασιλεύ-
	ων . διεπεικαιδ[]	ων, διέπει καὶ δι[]
25	τατεθειαικαιταα[]	τά τε θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀ[νθρώπεια
	χρηματα . καιδι . []	25 χρήματα . και δι . []
	θεου . εεγνωμε . []	θεοὺς τε ἔγνωμεν [καὶ ναοὺς
	ειδρυ . αμε ωμ[]	εἰδρυσάμεθα βωμ[οὺς τε εἰδει-
	μαμεθακαι . [.] λ[]	μάμεθα καὶ [.] λ[]
	[.] μεθακαιπ . []	σάμεθα καὶ πολ[ιτείας συν-
30	εστησαμεθα . []	30 εστησάμεθα ν[όμους τε ἐθέ-
	μεθα' καιοσαμ[]	μεθα . και ὄσα μ[ὲν χεῖρες καὶ
	ποδεσημειν . []	πόδες ἡμῶν . [] οὐ τῆ
	τουςωματος . []	τοῦ σώματος ῥ[ώμη] πάντα

	αυτακατορθ . []	ταῦτα κατορθο[ύμεν ἀλλὰ τῶ
35	λογω' καιοικια[]	35 λόγω . και' οικία[]
	οικουμεν . []	διοικουμέν . []
	ανενερ . αζ . μ[]	αν ἐνεργαζομ[]

1 ο . , right-hand end of high horizontal stroke
 left to right; 2 mm to the right, upper half of upright on right-hand edge of hole
 arc, ε or c α . , damaged traces suggesting small round letter ο[] , remains of triangular letter; λ
 more likely than λ 4 παρ . , of ρ the descender and lower part of loop υ . , bottom arc [.]
 upright, joining another stroke (now lost) at top right 5 υ . , remains of small top arc above hole
 that extends into the next line 6 υ . , upright in upper part of writing space on left-hand edge
 of hole η . . . , scanty remains of 2-3 letters on lower edge of hole: tiny traces in vertical alignment;
 1.5 mm further on, tiny trace at line level; 1.5 mm on, upright descending below line level 7 ε . ,
 trace in upper part of writing space, on left-hand edge of hole, suggesting tip of upright π
 first, remains of diagonal ascending from left to right and joining at mid-height a nearly horizontal
 stroke; second, remains of cross-bar at top level; third, traces in upper part of writing space and at
 line level, possibly round letter; fourth, part of upright on damaged area 8 [.] , lower part of
 diagonal ascending from left to right, very close to another trace at mid-height on edge of hole ex-
 tending above and on its right υ . , minute trace at mid-height after large hole [.] , upright slightly
 slanting to right, whose top joins on the edge a stroke, probably horizontal, now lost 9 τ . ,
 short horizontal trace at top level υ . , upright joining at top diagonal descending from left to right
 [.] . . . , first, scanty traces very close to each other in upper part of writing space, slightly above mid-
 height; second, remains of small oval roughly at mid-height and below hole ε . , left-hand arc [.]
 remains of upright with curving lower extremity; above, traces in horizontal alignment on damaged
 fibres suggesting cross-bar 10 κ . , horizontal at mid-height, almost touching following upright,
 either ε ι or η π . , remains of triangular letter on damaged surface παι . [.] added in the
 interlinear space: π . , remains of near-vertical, whose top joins short horizontal to right [.] , upright
 slightly slanting to right whose top joins on right stroke descending gently from left to right; 0.5 mm
 further on, two tiny traces, close together, at top level 11 τ . , right-hand arc [.] , left-hand arc
 12 θ . , two traces on right-hand edge of hole, one at top level and one at mid-height 13 ο . ,
 tiny trace at line level [.] . , two tiny traces at line level in horizontal alignment with each other, on
 edge of large hole ε . , two traces in vertical alignment, one in upper part of writing space and one
 at line level [.] , small faint traces suggest upper part of left-hand arc 14 ω . , tiny trace at
 mid-height on edge, sloping down from left to right, then short thin horizontal trace at line level [.]
 diagonal stroke ascending from left to right, whose top joins a (possibly horizontal) trace to right
 16 ο . , two traces in vertical alignment, one at mid-height and one at line level υ . , remains of
 right-hand arc on damaged fibres 17 [.] , lower part of diagonal ascending from left to right
 18 υ . , lower part of right-hand arc on edge of hole extending above and to its left [.] , trace at
 line level, possibly tip of diagonal ascending from left to right 19 υ . , trace at mid-height on
 edge 20 [.] , diagonal ascending from left to right 21 ρ c . , most of right-hand arc of ρ lost
 in hole 22 . , vertical trace at line level, possibly foot of upright κ . , remains of two parallel
 horizontals, one in upper part of writing space, one at mid-height, 1 mm apart; hole extending below
 25 [.] , lower tip of diagonal ascending from left to right 26 υ . , lower half of left-hand arc on
 lower edge of large hole ε . , horizontal in upper part of writing space, whose left-hand extremity
 joins another stroke, probably an upright, the rest lost in a hole to the left and below [.] , slanting
 upright 27 υ . , traces on damaged surface suggest left-hand arc ε . . . , first, two tiny traces
 very close together, in diagonal alignment descending from left to right, one at mid-height and one

in lower part of writing space, on the edge of large hole extending above and to their right; second, diagonal stroke descending from left to right, to the right of the same hole ω, thick stroke slightly sloping to the right and joining at mid-height another, nearly horizontal, stroke 28 ι, γ or left-hand part of π 29 μ, first, two tiny traces very close together, almost in vertical alignment at line level; above, in upper part of writing space, short horizontal trace in vertical alignment with the previous traces on edge of large hole extending to its right; second, two tiny traces very close together in horizontal alignment, at line level on lower edge of the same hole π, fibres damaged: three very tiny traces very close together in upper part of writing space; c.1 mm further on, concave ink, perhaps right-hand arc [, fibres damaged: lower part of upright slightly slanting to the right; c.2 mm further on, horizontal trace in lower part of writing space, slightly above line level, in vertical alignment with tiny dot at line level on damaged fibres (possibly just discoloration) 30 [, remains of square letter, μ or ν 32 [, upright, no join visible at top 33 [, upright descending below line level; scanty traces round its top 34 α, scanty remains of cross-bar at top level [, left-hand arc 36 [, first, scanty, faded and blurred traces in upper part of writing space and at mid-height, suggesting triangular letter; second, upright descending below line level ν [, upright slightly slanting to the right, followed, 2.5 mm further on, after hole, by two traces in vertical alignment, one in upper part of writing space and one at line level; 1.5 mm further on, two minute traces in vertical alignment and very close together, in lower part of writing space 37 αν, no traces before α (αν ed. pr.) ρ [, join between two strokes in upper part of writing space, above hole ζ [, left-hand arc on edge of hole

(Title) 'Encomium of the Logos'

'The Logos is the invention of the god in whose honour also [we celebrate] this present festival. And in however many praises we confer [on the Logos], we shall be praising Hermes as father of the Logos. For it would be . . . to render suitable praise [to the Logos] now ?especially, when indeed we are today sacrificing to the god. Now, one [of us?] has decided to praise one attribute [of the god], one another: but how could I (we?) not praise (him) [for the Logos]? For whatever success [anyone] achieves, when the Logos [he shares in?] is good, he reaps the reward of [greatest?] renown not only for the present, [but for all time]. For, to say it briefly, the Logos, [ruling over] all things, both [mortal] and immortal, manages and [disposes all] things, both the divine and the [human]. And throu[gh] it we came to know the gods and established temples and built altars; and we [founded cities?] and constructed constitutions and established laws. And in everything that hands and feet [offer us?], in all this we succeed [not through the strength] of the body, [but] through the Logos. And we manage households(?) [and properties with the Logos] producing in [us the necessary skills?]

1-2 The title is highlighted by horizontal strokes above and below the initial and final letter(s) of each word. Comparable ornamentation is relatively common in titles of standard papyrus rolls and sillyboi: see e.g. M. Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale nel rotolo librario greco-egizio* (2007) 78-9 (on initial titles), F. Schironi, *τὸ μέγα βιβλίον* (2010) 23-4 (on end-titles).

3 As PJP points out, the incipit interestingly echoes the opening words of Xen. *Cyn. τὸ μὲν εὔρημα θεῶν, Απόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, ἄγραι καὶ κίνες.*

In εὔρημα the scribe left a letter space between ν and ρ, presumably because the papyrus was already flawed or damaged.

3-4 The supplements are taken from the ed. pr.; cf. 7-8. For Hermes as inventor and father of the Logos, see D. L. Gera, *Ancient Greek Ideas on Speech, Language, and Civilization* (2003) 115-18. Thus Aristox. fr. 23 Wehrli τὴν δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς πραγματεῖαν μάλιστα πάντων τιμῆσαι δοκεῖ Πυθαγόρας . . . πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἀπεικάζων τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἀριθμὸς ἔχει καὶ λόγος ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἀριθμῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους . . . Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ Ἑρμοῦ φασὶν εὔρημα, ὃν καλοῦσι Θῶθ (note

that here Logos is closely associated with ἀριθμὸς and contains a nuance of 'counting'); Herm. in *Phdr.* p. 253.25-8 Couvreur (on Plato's account of Theuth) καὶ ἐνταῦθα οὖν τὸ περὶ τῶν λόγων εὔρημα τῷ δεσπότῃ Ἑρμῇ ἀνατίθηται; [D.H.] *Rhet.* 7.2, p. 285.8-13 U.-R. μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἀθληταὶ δέονται ἂν τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου προτροπῆς καὶ ἐπικελεύσεως, ὄντες μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἑρμοῦ τε καὶ Ἡρακλέους μαθηταὶ τε καὶ ζηλωταὶ (ὧν δὲ μὲν εὔρητης τοῦ λόγου ἢ αὐτὸ χρῆμα λόγος· δὲ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀθηνῶν πάντα κατάρθωσαν τὰ ἐπιταχθέντα· ἢ δὲ τί ἂν ἄλλο εἴη ἢ νοῦς τε καὶ λόγος); Ael. *NA* 10.29; *Orph. Hymn.* 28.4 and 10; Nonn. *Dion.* 26.284. See also the reconstructed magic hymn to Hermes, GDRK 59.8 (PGM II p. 249) 2 λόγων ἀρχηγέτα γλώσσης, 4 παμφώνου γλώσσης μεδέων.

Plato, *Crat.* 407e-408b offers an etymological interpretation of the name Hermes as the creator of the Logos, probably influenced by Homeric exegesis: see T. M. S. Baxter, *The Cratylus* (1992) 125-6 with n. 84; F. Buffière, 'La Notion de "logos" dans l'exégèse d'Homère', *BLE* 54 (1953) 55-60; D. Sedley, *Plato's Cratylus* (2003) 95-6. Beyond this, Hermes is often identified with the Logos itself, see e.g. Plu. *Amat.* 757b and *Is. Os.* 373b, or qualified as λόγιος, see e.g. Ael. *Aristid.* *Or.* 3.663, p. 511.11 Lenz-Behr; Luc. *Pseudol.* 24, *Apol.* 2, *Gall.* 2; Max. *Tyr.* *Or.* 19.1.4-5 Trapp; Philostr. *VA* 5.15.

4-5 τὴν παρούσα [] | πανήγυριν. Compare in general P. Köln VII 286 (encomium of Dionysus) fr. a.3-5]ν πανηγυρ[]νου συναγωγόν[τ- |]λογοισιακα[. The lacuna must contain a verb: perhaps ἄγομεν (as Men. *Rh.* I 366.18 Russell-Wilson ἢ μὲν πανήγυρις ἄγεται θεῶ) οἱ τελοῦμεν (as D.S. 6.6.4 οὔτε θυσίας οὔτε πανηγύρεις ἐτέλει). Both these fit the space, and so might ἀνάγομεν (cf. Sopater 10.2, p. 48.15 Weissenberger = *RG VIII* 68.13-14 τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀνήγομεν τῷ θεῶ). Longer compounds such as συνάγομεν (e.g. Isoc. *Paneg.* 1) and ἐκ-/ἐπι-/συντελοῦμεν (e.g. D.S. 31.16.2, 3.2.2, 1.97.3) seem excluded.

The combination παρούσα πανήγυρις is frequently attested, especially in Christian texts; see e.g. Greg. *Naz.* *Or.* 15, *PG* 35.912.1-2; *Or.* 19, *PG* 35.1048.44-5; *Or.* 38, *PG* 36.317.2.

5 πανήγυριν. As F. Perpillou-Thomas, *CE* 61 (1986) 301-12, esp. 304, points out, from the end of the second to the fourth century, this word is used in documentary texts to indicate festivals strictly linked to the Gymnasium, and assumes a political connotation, while the word ἑορτή seems to carry a more specific religious meaning; cf. L. Casarico, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 135-62; D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt* (1998) 58-9. However, XVII 2084, which celebrates Hermes through his favourite food, the fig, uses πανήγυρις (6-7) and ἑορτή (26, miswritten εροτ-) in referring to the same festival. For general discussion of the Hermaia, see Perpillou-Thomas, *Fêtes d'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine* (1993) 91-3.

ῥα δ' ἄ[ν] τὸν λόγον WBH: ῥα δ' ἄ[ν] ἄλλα] ed. pr., which is in any case too short. The sense must be: any praise of Logos will be praise of the god who invented Logos.

6 εὐλογῆς μεν: between ο and γ there is a blank space (the upper right-hand part occupied by a small hole). The scribe probably left a space in order to avoid some damage or imperfection in the writing material (cf. 3 n.).

ς μεν: before μ an upright trace whose upper part inclines slightly to the left, and then a hole with minute traces on the broken lower edge. The ed. pr. printed εὐλογῆσαι μεν, which certainly suits the grammar; in that case the upright ink represents the right-hand curve of ω in the gently concave form seen in 15]ω. I have considered also εὐλογῆ[α] μεν (or εὐλογῆσαι μεν, taking into account the tiny trace on the lower edge?) and εὐλογῆ[ο] μεν (in which case the tiny trace must be taken as accidental: note that the omicron usually lies slightly above the baseline), but then the use of an optative after ῥα δ' ἄ[ν] needs to be justified.

For εὐλογέω, see Pernot, *La Rhétorique de l'éloge* i 117 n. 6: 'Eulogēin, eulogia sont surtout poétiques et testamentaires, et peu employés dans la rhétorique épictétique d'époque impériale (bien qu'il y ait des emplois dans la rhétorique classique et hellénistique . . .). Selon Alex. Noum. 4, 7-9, eulogia s'applique seulement aux éloges en vers, et "nullement" (mē pantós: cf. *ibid.* 2, 26 ; 3, 11) aux discours'.

6-7 Ἐ[ρμῆν] ἐπαι[νε]σόμεθα ed. pr.

7 τὸν πατέρα [α] ὄντα τοῦ WBH: τὸν πατέρα [α] τοῦ] ed. pr., too short.

8–10 The final traces in 8 suggest Γ or Π ; then 9 $\zeta\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ suggests a superlative. After that the scanty traces, and the spacing, would allow $\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$ $\mu[\acute{\alpha}] \lambda\iota\zeta\tau[\alpha]$, a common combination; here it would be in correlation with $\delta\tau\epsilon$ (11). In the lacuna of line 10 we need a dative governed by $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\upsilon\nu\alpha[\iota]$. Thus the following reconstruction of these lines can be proposed: $\kappa\alpha[\iota] \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \acute{\alpha}\nu \epsilon\tilde{\iota}\eta \pi[\omicron] \tau[\omicron] \nu$ (or $\pi\omega\varsigma$, both GBD'A) $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\epsilon}[\iota] \zeta\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ (or $\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\epsilon}[\iota] \zeta\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$, both GBD'A) $\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu \mu[\acute{\alpha}] \lambda\iota\zeta\tau[\alpha] \tau\omicron\nu \pi\omicron\varsigma$ $[\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha \acute{\xi}\pi\alpha\iota\nu[\omicron\nu]] \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\upsilon\nu\alpha[\iota] \tau\acute{\omega} \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omega$ (or $\pi\omicron\varsigma$) $[\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha \acute{\xi}\pi\alpha\iota\nu[\omicron\nu]] \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\upsilon\nu\alpha[\iota]$ ed. pr., $\tau\acute{\omega} \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omega$ WBH). Hiatus at the end of 10 could be tolerated since there is a pause before the subordinate clause starting in 11 with $\delta\tau\epsilon$.

Alternatively, as PJP suggests, 8–9 may adapt a formula traditional in beginning the praise of a deity: $\kappa\alpha[\iota] \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \acute{\alpha}\nu \epsilon\tilde{\iota}\eta \pi[\omicron] \tau[\omicron] \nu$ (or perhaps omit $\tau\epsilon$ to save space); cf. Theogn. 3, *Hom. Hymn.* 21.4, Hes. *Theog.* 34, Theoc. 17.1f. with Gow's note.

9–10 For $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\upsilon\nu\alpha[\iota]$ with $\pi\omicron\varsigma\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\nu$ and $\acute{\xi}\pi\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$, cf. Plu. *Mulier. virt.* 242F $\mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha} \tau\eta\nu \tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \pi\omicron\varsigma\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (specifically of making a speech). I am inclined to think that $\acute{\xi}\pi\alpha\iota\nu[\omicron\nu]$ here is used in the general meaning of praise rather than as a synonym of $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\nu\omicron$. On the distinction between the two terms found in rhetorical handbooks, but not strictly applied in the actual usage, see Pernot, *La Rhétorique de l'éloge* i 117–27, esp. 121 with n. 28 and 126–7.

10 $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\upsilon\nu\alpha[\iota]$: $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\upsilon\nu\alpha[\iota]$ ed. pr. (ι no longer present).

11 $\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ E. G. Turner in the ed. pr. $\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu \mathcal{A}\tau\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\iota$, $\varsigma\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu \mathcal{E}\lambda\lambda\eta\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ Moeris. The same form occurs in a text of the same type, XVII 2084 (10), a prose encomium by a student (see introd.), where, however, the alternative form $\varsigma\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ is also used (23): see R. Luiselli, *A Study of High Level Greek in the Non-Literary Papyri from Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (Diss. London 1999) 155. For the Attic form in literary prose of the Roman period, see W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus* (1887–97) iv 232. In documentary papyri, $\varsigma\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ is universal, except for a few ambitious texts of the third and fourth centuries AD.

$\tau\acute{\omega}$: $\tau\acute{\omega}\tau\omega$ $\tau\acute{\omega}$ ed. pr., too long for the space.

12–13 WBH suggests $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \omicron\delta\tilde{\nu} \acute{\eta}[\mu\acute{\omega}\nu \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron] \lambda\acute{\omicron} \tau\iota \acute{\epsilon}\pi[\alpha] \nu\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\omega[\kappa\epsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon]$, comparing Aphth. *Prog.* viii 11, p. 135.1–5 Patillon ($\varsigma\omicron\phi\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\nu\omicron$) $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron \tau\iota \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\delta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\epsilon\nu \dots \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron \tau\iota \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\kappa\acute{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\tau\omicron$. As he notes, the implication would be that different speakers have chosen different aspects of the god as the matter of their encomia, perhaps in competition on the same occasion. Our speaker chooses $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$; the author of 2084 (for a similar festivity?) chooses the fig, a much more cunning approach.

14–15 The general meaning is clear: the *Logos* is such a relevant attribute of Hermes that it is the 'obvious' choice, so to speak, to praise it as an appropriate way of praising the god himself.

14 $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ed. pr.: the initial trace most suggests the foot of a diagonal descending from left to right, as of λ , but the surface is damaged, so that the right-hand upright of a π may not be excluded. Then e.g. $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta' \omicron\upsilon\kappa \acute{\alpha}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\iota\nu[\omicron\iota\eta\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \tau\acute{\omega} \lambda\acute{\omicron}] [\gamma\omega]$; (WBH). If however λ is read, one could tentatively suggest the alternative supplement $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma \delta' \omicron\upsilon\kappa \acute{\alpha}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\iota\nu[-$ with $\acute{\eta}$ later in the clause, 'But in no other way than . . . could I (we) praise him'.

15–16 The initial traces of line 16 perhaps suggest the branches of κ or χ . Turner proposed $\delta\tau\iota \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \acute{\alpha}\nu \epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\upsilon[\chi\acute{\eta}\varsigma\eta \tau\iota\varsigma \acute{\omega}\nu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron] [\chi\omicron\varsigma]$ (or $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\upsilon [\chi\omicron\varsigma]$), then $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma[\omicron\upsilon]$ (ed. pr.). This would fit the space, provided that we write $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ or omit $\acute{\omega}\nu$. For the concept cf. Didym. Caec. *Comm. in Zach.* 1.10 $\acute{\omicron} \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\upsilon$; S.E. *M.* 7.133 $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha} \mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\chi\eta\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\upsilon$. However, the position of $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\upsilon$ gives a strange word order. An alternative, $\delta\tau\iota \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \acute{\alpha}\nu \epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\upsilon[\chi\acute{\eta}\varsigma\eta \tau\iota\varsigma \kappa\acute{\eta}\rho\upsilon] [\kappa\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma[\omicron\upsilon]$ (PJP), avoids this difficulty, and introduces an allusion to Hermes' role as $\kappa\acute{\eta}\rho\upsilon\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$, but requires us to assume that $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ can take simultaneously a genitive and an accusative of respect.

16–17 The supplements are taken from the ed. pr. except $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha}] | \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha$ (PJP): the ed. pr. prints $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu] | \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha$, referring to $\chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu$ in 18. TLG finds four examples of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha \chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu$, e.g. Lib. *Epist.* 685.5; $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha} \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ is very common. The ed. pr. had $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ after $\acute{\alpha}[\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}]$, but there is no room for it.

18 The final trace, a rising oblique, might allow e.g. $\mu[\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\eta\nu]$ (GBD'A).

19 $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\omega}[\zeta\alpha\tau\omicron]$ (gnomic aorist) ed. pr., n. ad loc., quoting Xen. *Cyr.* 8.22 $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\varsigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$: $\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\theta\alpha\iota \epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$ remains a regular expression, see Lib. *Declam.* 24.4, 25.37; Tz. *Vita Hes.* 96 Colonna; Marcellin. *Sch. ad Hermog. Stat.*, RG IV 420.20–21. The ed. pr. puts $\acute{\epsilon}\langle\kappa\rangle\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\omega}[\zeta\epsilon\iota]$ in the text ($\acute{\epsilon}\langle\kappa\rangle\kappa\alpha\rho\omega$ [Turner]), but this compound is attested only in the middle.

19–23 As the ed. pr. points out, these lines echo Isoc. *Nic.* 9: $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \delta\acute{\epsilon} \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota} \varsigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\beta\delta\eta\nu \pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota} \tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma \delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\omega\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, $\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \phi\rho\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\varsigma \pi\rho\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu \epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\eta}\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron}\gamma\omega\varsigma \gamma\iota\nu\gamma\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha} \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\omega\nu \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \delta\iota\alpha\nu\omicron\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu \acute{\eta}\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\nu \acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha$.

The same function of universal ruler is attributed to $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$ in LXXVI 5093 ii 9–11, with comparable wording: $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\omega\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$. $\delta\tau\epsilon(\iota) \kappa\upsilon\beta\epsilon\rho\nu\acute{\alpha} \tau\acute{\alpha} \theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha \kappa(\alpha\iota) [\tau] \acute{\alpha} \acute{\alpha}\nu(\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\epsilon\iota\alpha) | \delta\eta\lambda\omicron\iota \acute{\eta} \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \omicron\upsilon\lambda\tau\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu \tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$.

The ed. pr. prints $\varsigma\upsilon\nu] \epsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\iota \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu [\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma | \acute{\omicron} \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\varsigma \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\iota \pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{\alpha}] [\tau] \omega] \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu [\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}] \omega\nu$; then begins a new sentence, in asyndeton, with $\delta\acute{\iota}\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$, perhaps assuming that the middle stop written before this verb signifies major punctuation. But $\tau[\omega]$ is incompatible with the traces, and the supplements in 21–2 are substantially too long. The middle stop may simply separate grammatical units within the same sentence (see *GMAW*² p. 9), especially since it is not here accompanied by a paragraphus. I have articulated the text differently, with supplements suggested by PJP, which assume that the author is alluding to the much-quoted description of Nomos by Pindar, fr. 169a.1–4 $\mathcal{N}\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\varsigma \acute{\omicron} \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu \beta\alpha\varsigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma / \theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu \tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu / \acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu \tau\acute{\omicron} \beta\iota\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu / \acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\iota}$. At the end of 20 e.g. $\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (K. Kumaniecki in the ed. pr.) would probably fill the space (μ and ν very wide).

23 $\delta[\iota\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}]$ (ed. pr.) would leave a short gap at line-end: $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ perhaps too long, $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$ or $\acute{\omicron}\lambda\alpha$ would create hiatus. $\delta[\iota\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\kappa\iota\nu]$ (WBH) would fill the whole space; or $\delta[\iota\alpha\kappa\upsilon\beta\epsilon\rho\nu\acute{\alpha}]$ (Euseb. *Comm. in Ps.*, PG 23.1220).

24 $\acute{\alpha}[\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\epsilon\iota\alpha]$ ed. pr.

25 $\delta\iota' \alpha[\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon]$ (ed. pr.) would suit the trace, but leave the line short. Perhaps $\delta\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha} [\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon]$.

26–8 $[\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \nu\alpha\omicron\upsilon\varsigma]$ ed. pr., $\beta\omega\mu[\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \tau\epsilon \acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota] \mu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ Kumaniecki.

27 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\rho\upsilon\varsigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$, l. $\acute{\iota}\delta\rho\upsilon$.

28–31 As the ed. pr. points out, lines 29–31 echo Isoc. *Nic.* 6 $\varsigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma \acute{\omega}\kappa\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\varsigma\alpha \epsilon\upsilon\tilde{\rho}\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \varsigma\chi\epsilon\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha \tau\acute{\alpha} \delta\iota' \acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\omega}\nu \mu\epsilon\mu\eta\chi\alpha\nu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\varsigma \acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\tau\iota\nu \acute{\omicron} \varsigma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$. See also next n.

28 $[\] \lambda$: the first trace Γ or left-hand part of Π . $\pi[\alpha] \nu[\eta\gamma\gamma\acute{\omicron}\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma]$ ed. pr., but ν seems excluded. Perhaps $\pi[\acute{\omicron}] \lambda[\epsilon\iota\varsigma]$, so that we have three features of $\tau\acute{\alpha} \theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (26–8) and then three of $\tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\epsilon\iota\alpha$ (28–31), each trio proceeding from the most general to the more particular. Then at line-end e.g. $\tau\epsilon \acute{\omega}\kappa\epsilon\iota] \varsigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$?

29–30 $\pi\omicron\lambda[\iota\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \varsigma\upsilon\nu] \epsilon\varsigma\tau\eta\varsigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ (or perhaps $\pi\omicron\lambda[\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma]$; cf. for the orthography 27, 32): $\pi\omicron\lambda[\iota\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \kappa\alpha\tau] \epsilon\varsigma\tau\eta\varsigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ ed. pr., but $\varsigma\upsilon\nu$ - better respects the rules of syllable-division.

30–31 $\nu[\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \tau\epsilon \acute{\epsilon}\theta\acute{\epsilon}] \mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ ed. pr.

31–5 For the interaction of physical labour and intellectual effort, cf. Plu. *An seni* 797E $\omicron\upsilon\delta \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \alpha\acute{\iota} \chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\varsigma \acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\omega}\nu \omicron\upsilon\delta \acute{\omicron}\iota \pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon\varsigma \omicron\upsilon\delta \acute{\omicron}\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon \varsigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta \kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\tau\iota \tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma \mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha} \pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\nu \acute{\eta} \psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta} \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \tau\acute{\alpha} \tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma \psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}\varsigma \kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta, \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma\upsilon\nu\eta \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \varsigma\omega\phi\rho\omicron\varsigma\upsilon\nu\eta \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \phi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\eta\varsigma$. As PJP observes, these lines may have special relevance to activities performed at the Gymnasium, such as running and wrestling. The contrast with the previous section is marked not only by the sentence break (high stop after $-\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ in 31) but also by the use of the aorist in lines 26–31, which deal with past human achievements, and of the present in these lines, which describe the activities of every day.

As to the rhetoric, WBH well suggests that the author drew a simple contrast, 'the achievements of our hands and feet are not due to strength (alone?) but (also?) entirely?' to reason'.

31 $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\alpha \mu[\acute{\epsilon}\nu \chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\varsigma \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}]$ Kumaniecki. Since there seems to be no answering $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, this will be 'μέν solitarium' (Denniston, *Greek Particles* 380ff.).

32 ἡμῶν, ἢ ἡμῶν.

[: an upright. Kumaniecki suggests π[αρέχουσι. But the top of the upright shows no trace of a cross-piece to the right, though a junction with a diagonal (descending left to right) is not excluded (μ, ν, even c?). If the context is indeed the gymnasium, with its sporting contests, we could think of ν[εικῶσι.

32-5 οὐ τῆ] | τοῦ σώματος ῥ[ώμη πάντα] | ταῦτα κατορθοῦμεν ἀλλὰ τῶ] | λόγῳ WBH (34-5 κατορθοῦμεν τῶ] | λόγῳ Kumaniecki, too short for the space). The reverse in Philo, *Det. pot. ins.* 104 ἀ δ' ἂν καὶ ἐδ' ἐργάζωνται, κατὰ τύχην, οὐδὲν λόγῳ κατορθοῦσι.

35 οἰκία[ς. The ed. pr. understood οἰκία as οἰκεία, with Kumaniecki's συνέχει or φρονήσει to follow, giving in συνέχει . . . διοικοῦμεν a chiasmic parallel to κατορθοῦμεν . . . λόγῳ, and offering no supplements for 36-7. I have written οἰκία[ς, assuming that the author progresses from religious observance and civil society to domestic administration, the daily concern of his audience. Supply e.g. οἰκία[ς καὶ οὐσίας (οἱ καὶ πόλεις; cf. Pl. *Men.* 91A οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰς τε οἰκίας καὶ τὰς πόλεις καλῶς διοικοῦσι).

36 διοικοῦμεν Kumaniecki.

37 ἐνεργάζομαι: ἐνεργάζομαι[εθα would continue the series of first person plural verbs, but of course a participle ἐνεργάζομαι[εν- is not excluded.

The verb is generally used to indicate something, often external, which produces a physical or mental effect in us. In respect of bodily well-being, see Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.20 ἔτι δὲ αἱ μὲν ῥαδιουργίαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα ἡδοναὶ οὐτε σώματι εὐεξίαν ἰκαναί εἰσιν ἐνεργάζεσθαι, ὥς φασι οἱ γυμνασταὶ κτλ. With regard to the psychological dimension, cf. Plu. *Inim. util.* 91B καίτοι τίς ἄσκησις ἑτέρα μείζονα ὠφέλειαν ἐνεργάζεται ταῖς ψυχαῖς κτλ.

Here the effective force is *Logos*, which suggests that λόγος is somehow the subject of ἐνεργάζομαι[ς: cf. e.g. Plu. *Tiang. an.* 47B τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλας ἀναιρεῖ λύπας δὲ λόγος, τὴν δὲ μετάνοιαν αὐτὸς ἐνεργάζεται (so G and Stob.: ἐργ- cett.) κτλ. This in turn suggests a participial construction, e.g. καὶ οἰκία[ς καὶ οὐσίας] διοικοῦμεν . . . [, εὐβουλ(ε)ί]αν ἐνεργάζομαι[ένου τοῦ λόγου, ' . . . and we manage . . . our households and properties . . . , with *Logos* instilling (in us) the ability to plan successfully'. The traces . . . in 36 might allow e.g. π[ά]ς[ας] or κ[α]λῶς.

So reconstructed, the sentence would end with the last line of the column. But of course we have no way of telling whether the text continued in a further column or columns.

D. COLOMO

II. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

5195. SOPHOCLES, *OEDIPUS COLONEUS* 189-201, 204-11, 243-7

101/100(e)

Fr. 1 4.7 × 6.1 cm

First century BC/first century AD

Two fragments of a roll, with writing running along the fibres. Fr. 1 gives part of a single column, and fr. 2 part of the right-hand side of one column and the left-hand side of the next. The edge of a *kollesis* is visible about 1.75 cm to the right of the left-hand edge of fr. 1. The small round upright serifed hand is similar to that of LX 4013 + P. Köln VI 252 (Euripides, *Orestes*), and may be assigned to the same period: see further Haslam on 4013. On the back, in a less formal hand, an unidentified text, perhaps also literary: parts of two columns with intercolumnium (fr. 1) and part of a single column with no recognizable margins (fr. 2).

Changes of speaker are marked by short paragraphi, now lost wherever the line-beginnings are not preserved, and the contributions of the chorus-leader are indented: for other papyri displaying this use of indentation, see L. Savignago, *Eis-thesis* (2008) 318. Beginning at 195b, a second hand has crudely added a large number of lection signs: accents of all three kinds, a rough breathing (Turner's form 1: *GMAW*² p. 11), an apostrophe, and a 'short'. Iota adscript appears to have been written at 205/6a, but omitted at 191 if *χρεια* was meant as a dative: see n. Elision is effected but not marked except once in 195b, where the second hand has added an apostrophe. If we assume a colometrical arrangement similar to that of L, with additional line-breaks wherever the speaker changes in mid-colon, the last visible line of fr. 2 col. ii (247) will be the forty-fourth after the last visible line of fr. 2 col. i (209b-11a), which stands at the same level. Ten lines in fr. 1 occupy an area about 5 cm high. The column height will then have been approximately 22 cm; fr. 2 col. i will have come below fr. 1 in the fifth column of the play text. To judge by fr. 2 as supplemented, the distance between one left-hand column edge and the next was about 10 cm, and the intercolumnar space was only 0.75 cm wide at its narrowest.

One other ancient copy of the play has been published, P. Mich. III 140, a papyrus codex leaf giving 136-45 and 180-91, dated by P. Heilporn (APIS) to the fifth or sixth century, and by G. Cavallo (*Il calamo e il papiro* 186, 198) to the fourth. There is no published transcription of the faded text on the back (180-91), but a description and image are available at <http://papyri.info/apis/michigan.apis.1992>. As in 5195, the parts assigned to the chorus or chorus-leader are indented.

5195 confirms the conjecture of Vauvilliers at 205, and it almost certainly agrees with r in omitting 198, perhaps rightly. There are previously unknown corruptions at 196 and 197. The colometry is generally unsurprising, but there is

Fr. 2 col. i

204-11 The following reconstruction seems suitable, though there is much uncertainty in the detail of the supplements:

αυδασον τις εφυσ βρο]τ[ω]γ
 τις ων πολυπονος αγ]η: τίν αν ς[ου
 πατριδ εκπυθοιμα]ν
 ω ξενοι αποπολις αλλα μ]ή
 τι τοδ απεννεπει γερον]
 μη μη μη]
 μ ανερηι τις ειμι μηδ ε]ξ
 εταςηις περα ματευων]

The cola are divided similarly in the other manuscripts, except towards the end. **lraz** all divide at changes of speaker and after βροτῶν at the end of the first colon. As for the remaining colon boundaries, **laz** also divide after κοῦ, but at the end, they split ἐξέτασῆις after the second (**laz**) or third (**K**) syllable; **r** places κοῦ in the third rather than the second colon and divides not in the middle but at the end of ἐξέτασῆις. The division after μη μη μη (209), suggested by Professor D'Alessio, is not paralleled in any of the other manuscripts: see further on 209b-11a.

204] []: the foot of an upright; the lower end of a steeply descending oblique or of an upright curving to the right. Traces and spaces seem compatible with the expected βρο]τ[ω]γ. In the earlier part of the line, for τις ἔφυσ (Lγρ, adopted by the Oxford editors), LAU offer τις ς' ἔφυσ, **Kr** τις ἔφυσ, **Y** τί ς' ἔφυσ, and **z** τις ς' ἔφυσ.

205/6a] . . : a thick trace on the line; an upright. The traces are compatible with the expected αγ]ηι.

τίν αν: the papyrus confirms Vauvilliers' conjecture τίν' αν, adopted by the Oxford editors. The other manuscripts offer τίνα.

] [: only a speck.

In the earlier part of the line, ὦν is the unmetrical majority reading. The Oxford editors adopt δ (Lγρ).

206b] : an upright on the edge.

207] . : traces partly on loose fibres, perhaps parts of the first upright and of the cross-bar joining the second upright of η with an acute accent above. In the earlier part of the line, ἀπόπολις is Ebeling's conjecture (accepted by the Oxford editors); ἀπόπολις is transmitted.

209b-11a The other manuscripts have at the start of the colon μή once (**r**) or three times (**laz**), and the Oxford editors follow Hartung in printing it twice, but the ξ preserved in the papyrus stands much further to the left than it would if the papyrus had either of the attested forms of the beginning of the colon, and it is one line further down than expected. The position of the letter can most easily be accounted for by assuming (as above) that μη μη μη (or whatever occupied its place in this copy) was placed on a separate line; then with the division placed after εξ, this colon and the next could be taken as a pair of anacreontics.

col. ii

This series of line-beginnings matches 243-7 as arranged in L^{ac}, Λ (246-7 only; see F. G. Gian-nachi, *BollClass* 28 (2007) 74), K, and α (τ[ου . . . | ο[ις . . . | ω[ς . . . | υ[μετερου . . . | α[ιδους . . .]); **rz** differ only in placing the beginning of the second of these cola after -οις (at word-end). A scholium states that 237-57 were athetized, but they are not omitted by any manuscripts.

243] [: high in the line, on the edge, a trace suggesting the left-hand end of a cross-bar.

244] [: the left-hand arc of a circle.

245] [: the upper left-hand arc of a circle.

246 υ[: apparently the left-hand side of γ: represented are the left-hand branch (on the edge), the steeply sloping stem, and an ascending oblique half-serif at the foot.

J. YUAN / W. B. HENRY

5196. ARISTOPHANES, *EQUITES* 716-26

38 3B.85/K(1-2)b

3.7 × 9 cm

Third century

A scrap from the top of a column, with upper margin extant to 3 cm. It is part of the same roll as LXVI 4511, which preserves the beginnings of *Eq.* 736-46. The two fragments are no doubt parts of a single column, which will have contained a minimum of 31 lines and been at least 17.2 cm high. The back is blank. A repair patch was added before the text was copied, visible in the lower left part of the fragment; as a result, the earlier parts of 724-6 are written across the fibres.

Elision is made tacitly in 725. The copyist wrote diaeresis (inorganic; 724), and perhaps a *makron* (721). The accent at 716 is by a second hand, as suggested by the colour of the ink and the pen. In 4511 introd., I expressed the view that '[a]ll lectional signs seem to be by the original scribe', but this does not apply to the accents.

Coulon's Budé edition is the main source of the manuscript readings reported in the notes; I have also consulted the editions of von Velsen(/Zacher), Neil, Sommerstein, and Wilson. The papyrus confirms a necessary modern emendation at 726.

ς]ιτιζεις κακ[ως
 μέ]ν ολιγον εντ[ιθ. ς
 τριπλα]σιον κατε[πακας
 δεξιοτ]ητος της εμ[ης
 720 δ]ημ[ο]ν ευρυν [] . . . σοφιζε[ται
] δοξεις καθ[υβριαι
 ο]υθεν κωλ[υει
 725 μηθε]ν ημας ιςχ[ετω
]νη Δι ω πατε[ρ
 Δημδιο]ν ω φιλτατ[ον

717 εντ[ιθ. ς: ἐντίθεις R¹V²MS^G: ἐντιθείς R²V¹TS^{rel}: ἐντίθης A.

721] . . . : τουτογι RI²(τοῦ—)V¹: τοῦτο V²AI¹: τοῦτο γε M: τουτί γε S. I have tried to read του]τοχ^τ, but there are serious difficulties: the stem of the putative tau has an unexpected right-

facing serif at the foot; omicron and gamma are vestigial and neither can be confirmed; the apostrophe could also be a circumflex; there might be a diaeresis under the *makron*.

723 ο]υθεν. Aristophanes will have written οὐδέν here and μηδέν in 724, and not the forms with -θ-, found predominantly from the fourth century onwards; see e.g. W. G. Arnott, *Alexis: The Fragments* (1996) 89–90. Dr Henry notes that ancient copies are divided between the two forms, with -δ- in 5197 (π/ιγ) at Pl. 883 (ουθεν), in BKT V.2.111 (ν/νι) at Nu. 974 (μ'ηδεν), and in XI 1374 (ν) at V. 750 (μηδεν), but -θ- in BKT IX 105 (ν/νι) at Ach. 609 (μ'ηθεν') and in O. Bodl. I 279 (ι BC) at Nu. 974 (μηθεν; see N. Litinas, *ZPE* 141 (2002) 103–5). For the evidence of documentary papyri, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 97.

724 μηθε]ν restored by analogy to ο]υθεν in the previous line.

726 ω is omitted by the mediaeval manuscripts against the metre, and was conjecturally supplied by Elmsley. 5196 now shows that it survived into the Roman period.

N. GONIS

5197. ARISTOPHANES, *PLUTUS* 881–97

A 1B4/R(a)

7 × 14.3 cm

Third/fourth century

A fragment from a roll, blank on the back. The layout was generous: the upper margin measures 4.1 cm, and the intercolumnium is extant to 3.3 cm.

The hand is an informal example of the Biblical Majuscule, written fairly fast. I would assign it to the later third century, if not to the early fourth. Letters occasionally touch (884, 885). Some shading was intended: thin horizontals contrast with thicker uprights. There is some ornamentation in the form of little hooks at the starting-points of obliques that descend from left to right. The cross-bars of ε and ϑ have a downward slope; the horizontal of Δ may be extended to the left (884); the stem of γ bends leftwards at the foot. A more informal hand wrote 883, and this is linked to a peculiarity of layout: 884 stands too far down and too close to 885. As Dr Henry points out, it would appear that the scribe for some reason left a single blank line after 882 and slightly misjudged the spacing.

Paragraphi signal changes of speaker under 882, 885, 888, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, and 897; they are very long, occupying the space of four letters where intact (882, 885), and may be by a second hand. The changes at the ends of 884, 889, and 890 are not so marked, but may well have been indicated by dicola in the lost parts of the text; cf. the fourth-century papyrus codex of *Lysistrata* published by Grenfell and Hunt in *Mélanges Nicole* (1905) 217–20 (MP³ 144), where dicolon may be used either with paragraphus (438) or alone (434, 436). However, the Ravennas does not indicate the change of speaker at the beginning of 885, and it is possible that the papyrus too had no indication in one or more of the places mentioned. More problematic is the presence of paragraphi under 893 and 894, where speaker changes are hard to justify (see 893–5 n.).

The hand responsible for the paragraphi seems also to have added the lection signs: apostrophes to mark elision (885, 886) and after ουκ and ουχ (885, 886), and a grave accent at 885, to disambiguate. There is a (hypo)diastole in 883, to assist with articulation, and perhaps (inorganic) diaeresis at 886.

I have consulted the editions of Coulon, Sommerstein, and Wilson.

επει [
 εχθες δ [
 ουδεν, π[ροτιμω
 τον δα[κτυλιον
 885 ἀλλ' ουκ' [
 αρ' ουχ' υ[βρις
 ο τι δε π[οιειτον
 ου[κ
 μα [
 890 απ[ο
 ως [
 δι[αρραγειης
 [
 π[
 895 [
 κ[ακοδαιμον
 [

885 ἀλλ'. The gravis guards against the interpretation ἄλλ'.

ουκ' [. The transmitted οὐκ ἔνεστι was changed to οὐδέν' ἔνεστι by Willems, and to οὐδέν' ἔστι by Coulon in his edition. However, Coulon subsequently argued in favour of the transmitted text (*REG* 50 (1937) 20–21), which is what Wilson prints.

886 υ[βρις. Ink visible over υ[may well be one of the two elements of a diaeresis.

893–5 are assigned to the 'Bad Citizen' (whether he is called *κυκοφάντης* or *ἄδικος*) in the Byzantine manuscripts (and editions), but the paragraphi under 893 and 894 point to changes of speaker in these lines. There are sentence breaks after ἀρνείσθον at 893 and at the end of 894, but speaker changes at these points are not contextually warranted. The manuscripts offer a confusing picture of the speakers in this scene, but there are extremely few wrong changes of speaker; see K. J. Dover, *The Greeks and Their Legacy* (1988) 257–61.

897 The verse transmitted as 897 has been considered spurious by several scholars; it is a pity that we cannot tell what the papyrus had.

N. GONIS

5198. MENANDER, MISOUMENOS 123–54 SANDBACH/523–54 ARNOTT +

103/129(d)

fr. 1 5.3 × 16 cm

Second/third century
Plate VI

A group of pieces and scraps combine to form fr. 1; the joins are guaranteed by matching fibres or textual overlaps or by both. Fr. 2 seems to belong above fr. 1, though at what interval is not clear: the fibres correspond, and so also the contrast between a darker mottled strip to the left and a lighter strip to the right. Fr. 3 remains unplaced.

The text is written across the fibres, on a surface of poor quality: notice fr. 1.13–22, where the scribe carries on regardless across an obliquely displaced strip of vertical fibres. Column of at least 46 lines (fr. 1, 32; fr. 2, at least 14 more), with a height of at least 22.9 cm; lower margin (fr. 1) of at least 0.7 cm. On the other side, the original recto, remains of cursive: fr. 1 has a left-hand margin of c.3.8 cm; beginnings also on fr. 2 (a large right-angle, suggesting the ε̄τρουc sign) and fr. 3.

The hand is a small capital, written rapidly but regularly with a thickish pen, slightly slanting to the right; it may be assigned to the 'formal mixed' style of Turner, *GMAW*² p. 22. One may compare the more stylized and angular XXIII 2363 or the rounder XLII 3007. ε and c are straight-backed, ο sometimes tiny and hanging from the notional upper line, γ has a shallow rounded bowl above a central shaft, ω shows a flat base. Bilinearity is roughly respected but ρ, γ, and φ send a tail well below the line.

No lectional signs survive except elision mark (fr. 1.7, 22?; fr. 3.5), and punctuation by single stop (written high, so that it looks like a later addition: fr. 1.17, 20, 29) and by short rising diagonal above the line (fr. 1.18); three such diagonals (fr. 1.22?, 27) perhaps mark a major pause. For change of speaker we have dicolon with *nota personae* (fr. 1.2, 10; fr. 2.13; cf. fr. 2.8 *nota personae*, lacuna on left; fr. 2.12 dicolon, lacuna to right); dicolon alone fr. 1.12? The *notae personarum* may be by a different hand.

Some deletions and/or corrections, apparently by the same hand, perhaps *currente calamo*: fr. 1.11, 16, 19, 22?, 24, 31; fr. 2.2??, 3??, 12?; fr. 3.1??, 7.

5198 overlaps several other copies of *Misoumenos*:

2656 (O10 Sandbach), fol. A↓ and →, papyrus codex, badly damaged. 'If the text were in good condition the handwriting would not be difficult to read; as things are, a considerable portion of the reading is divinatory' (Turner, *New Fragments of the Misoumenos of Menander* (1965) 5–6).

132–44/532–44: P. Schub. 22 ii (P. Berol. 13932), parchment codex, difficult to read from damage and warping and also from bleed-through; transcriptions by W. Schubart (with contributions by K. Stahlschmidt) in Körte–Thierfelder, *Menandri quae supersunt* ii² 285–9 (S), by C. Austin in P. Oxy. XXXIII pp. 18–19 (A), and by

H. Maehler in *Lustrum* 10 (1965) 154–5 (M). These transcriptions diverge at many points; the new papyrus shows that each has its special successes. We are grateful to Dr Fabian Reiter for a new scan, but many uncertainties remain. Following Sandbach, we refer to this as B₃.

152–4/552–4: LXIV 4408, papyrus roll.

If we compare 5198 with 2656 as published, we find that (i) 5198 appears to omit 2656 A→ line 10 (= 145/545); and (ii) since the next clear overlap is between 5198 fr. 1.30 and 2656 A→ line 17 (= 152/552), 5198 also appears to have a line not present in 2656. This shows that the upper part of 2656 A needs adjustment: the small fragment on the right has been located one line too low, so that the elements of Turner's lines 145–8 that he prints beyond his broken line belong instead to his lines 144–7 (544–7 Arnott).

The overlaps confirm that we are dealing with a dialogue scene or scenes from the third act, whose elusive content has already attracted considerable interest among scholars. 5198, like 4408, shows that the published transcriptions of 2656 and B₃, the basis of earlier discussions, are in no way reliable: inevitably, since both manuscripts have suffered severe damage.

5198 adds new details of the action in this scene or scenes. Very provisionally, it would be possible to identify three phases. (i) 132–6/532–6 Chrysis and X discuss contrasting lives (those of Thrasonides and Krateia?), concluding 'She knows her own business better'. (ii) 137/537 a character Y perhaps complains sotto voce about (his?) burden; Chrysis and X cannot immediately identify the source of the noise, and one tells the other to leave (141/541). Y greets the woman left on stage (*μακαρία*); the subject turns to garments with ornamental borders and to jewellery and drinking cups; we might guess that these were part of Thrasonides' spoils, perhaps intended as presents for Krateia. Clothes are still in mind in 149/549. (iii) 151/551 ff. 'pounding the ground' and an about-to-be libation suggest a party, and that would cohere with 'wild animals' (153/553), 'indoors' (154/554), *μετὰ τίνων πίν[ε]ι ποτέ*; (157/557 in 4408), and the details that follow of songs and a 'pig man'. Up until 155/555 Chrysis remains present; in that line she says *ἀπίω[μεν]*, *κύρα*. (Do the pair actually leave the stage, or is it just an intention?) Certainly the next line (156/556) is spoken by a woman, since she swears by Artemis. Then follows a speech or speeches about singing and drinking, in the past tense and to some degree eye-witness (160–61/560–61); towards the end, at least, the speaker is a male (174/574) slave (172/572), who next intends to go indoors to witness what is being said and done (173–5/573–5). Perhaps the new speaker in 156/556 is Krateia; perhaps the male slave is the same character who had begun describing the party at about line 151/551.

Chrysis is identified by a *nota personae* at 116/516 or earlier (5198 fr. 2.8), 132/532 (5198 fr. 1.10), perhaps 147/547 (2656 '148' as reread by Gonis), and 155/555 (2656, 4408). It seems then that she was present on stage for at least forty

lines, down to her exit at 155/555 (if indeed she does leave at that point). The new evidence does not clarify her status (Krateia's nurse or not?), or the identity of her interlocutor(s) even in the relatively well-preserved lines 132–41/532–41: if there are two, X gets sent away in 141/541, Syra remains until 155/555. Some have identified X as Krateia, but there is no direct indication of her presence until the *nota personae* in 157/557 (4408), itself doubtfully read. 5198 does eliminate one apparent clue to the relationships, the reconstructed *ᾠ θυ[γα]τριδίο[ν]* in 143/543.

At 142/542, it seems, a new character Y addresses Chrysis (*μακαρία*). The circumstances suggest a (male) slave: 137/537 (shoulder), 140/540 (muttering?), 144/544 ff. an apparent list of clothes and precious objects. It may be the same person who describes an apparent celebration in 151/551 ff.; and when the description continues in the next scene, the speaker is indeed a male slave (172/572). All this would suit Getas, and a *nota* beginning with Γ appears in 121/521 or earlier (5198 fr. 2.13), 124/524 (5198 fr. 1.2), and perhaps 157/557 (4408). Unfortunately none of these *notae* can be read unequivocally as Γετ or the like, see fr. 1.2 n.

Thus a great deal still remains unclear, about the plot and about the speakers. For a survey of the controversy, and earlier bibliography, see 4408 introd.

]α. [
]:χι [
]αν [125/525
]λε. [. . .] [
 5]θυ.υ.ς [. .] δ [
]λο [.] ους του [
] . σφόδρ' αυτη [
] . σεξαιφν [130/530
] . σειτοιςφιλ [
 10]α:εμοιμαχ [
] . σιδεινονγαρ [
] . ινονγαρ . μακ [.] ρι [
] ωτονοσαχουτω [135/535
] . ιδεταγεαυτης [
 15]τραχηλοντου [
] . ν . . [μῆ]τονυπο [
] τιςποτεςτιν'εστ [
] ψιθυρισμοσ'οιδε . ω [140/540
] [ο]υδε [ε]γωκα [.] αλη [
 20] μακαρια' φαιονδεχ [
] . οτιταυθοτανλεγη [
] . οκρ [] ασπεδ' ενδαν [
] κτυ [.] ρυς . . [145/545
] ηπ [.] εμ [
 25] ειθε [.] β . υλε [.]
] πρωτο [] ις [] ενε [.]
] εταυτ [.] νια [
] α [] σα [.] ταλι [150/550
] αν [.] ραντ [.]
 30] επω [.] εραν [
] . ρια [.] . ων [
] λαν [.] . νδ [

2656 + 5198 fr. I + B3 + 4408

Contributions of 5198 in bold (underlined where its text overlaps another source).

. .] ρ [. . .] λα [. . . .] . . . [] α [. . .] . [
 . . . [. . .] . τ [. . .] : (Γ.Δ χι [. . .] . . . [
] αν [. . . .] . αν [. . .]] λε [. . . .] [. . .] εωμ [125/525
 5] . . [. . . .] . ρενθ [] θυ . υ . ς [. .] δ [. . .] [
 . . . [. . . .] πεπεικ [. . .] λο [. .] ους του [.]
] . [± 8] . ωνωσ σφόδρ' αυτη [
 τ [. .] [. . . .] νπερι . . [.] . σ εξαιφνη [σ 130/530
 α [. .] . . . [. .] γησ [. . . .] . σει τοις φιλ [
 10 ικετηριαν τι λεγουσα; : (XP.) εμοι μαχει, τάλαν; :
μ]α Δί', ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ[. . .] φησί· δεινὸν γὰρ βίον
ζῆ κ[α]ὶ ταλαίπωρόν τιν', οὐ γάρ; μακάριον
αὐτῆ . . καὶ ζηλωτὸν ὄσα γ' οὐτως ἰδεῖν 135/535
 . .] η . ἄμ [ε] νον οἶδε τὰ γ' ἑαυτῆς . . ω
 15 τοῦτ' ε[. .] [. .] ε . . . τὸν τράχηλον τουτονί
 . .] εμ' α [. . . .] ε . . εἰν ἂν τὸν ὑποκαθήμενο(ν)
τί] τοῦτο; τ[ο]ῦτο τίς ποτ' ἐστίν; ἔστι γὰρ
παρὰ τινος οὗτος ὁ ψιθυρισμός, οἶδ' ἐγώ. 140/540
 ἀπαλλάγηθ' ἐνθένδ'. ἐγὼ δ' ἀναλήμ[ψο]μαι
 20 . σθ [.] δεμε μακαρία· φαιὸν δ' ἔχει
 . . [. .] . τριδίο : δηλονότι ταῦθ' ὅταν λέγη
] σθ [. .] μα [. .] το κράσπεδ', ἐν δ' αὐτῷ μό[
 ± 12 δα]κτύλιον [. . . χ]ρυσι [.]
 . [.] δ [. .] ξον [. . . .] ηπαρ [. . . .] . εμ [
 25 φίλων τε [. . . .] ειθε [.] βουλετ[
ὁ τοιοῦτο [. . . .] πρωτο [.] ις [] ενε [.]
θαίματ[ι]α . . [. .] δε ταῦτ[α] (<-) λαβρ[ό]νια·
ἔπειτα προς [. .] τυ . ασαχ [.] ταλι [.] 150/550
τὴν γῆν κροτοῦσαν' κ [. .] [. . .] σαντ [.]
 30 ς] πείσονθ' [. .] τρεπω [. .] ι [. . . .] εραν [.] [.] τ[
 .] . ιν [. .] . αυτα θηρίων παρειςφ . . ων
εἶ]ρω τις ἡμᾶς λανθάνει, νῦν δ' οὐκέτι
ἂν οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσιν: (XPY.) ἀπίωμεν, Κύρα. 155/555

Fr. 1

1 . [, upright, papyrus missing at letter-top level 2 ρ! [, or possibly π [*s.l.* ρ [, the lower part of an ascending oblique; above, the left-hand part of a cross-bar, beginning rather further to the right 4 . [, spot at mid-height 5 . [, on a narrow strip, perhaps e.g. the end of the tail of α with a trace belonging to another letter above its right-hand side 6 . (first), in damaged context at the join of two fragments, perhaps e.g. the upper left-hand arc of a circle (second), a dot at mid-height 7 . [, perhaps left-hand end of cross-bar of τ 8 . [, high in the line, e.g. the tip of the cap of c 9 . [, damaged and dislocated traces, perhaps the upper left-hand arc of a circle followed by the right-hand arc of a circle joined from the left near the foot 10 . [, the foot of an upright 11 . [, upright hooked to right at top and perhaps joined from left at mid-line level: anomalous, η possible 12 . [, lower part of upright ς, the upper right-hand corner and part of the left-hand side 13 . [, the first η apparently made out of μ by the addition of a clear-cut descending diagonal 14 . [, Of ρ the tail 15 . [, μ, short horizontal trace at 1/3 height, probably end of horizontal joining upright for τ 1 as in 17] τ 1 After ρ, separated by a crack, short low vertical trace and tall high vertical trace, perhaps a dicolon 16 . [, υτω, of γ the tips of both arms and rubbed traces of the vertical; of τ the left and right parts of the horizontal and the foot; then traces suggesting the left-hand half of ω 17 . [, right-hand arc of circle? 18 . [, foot of upright 19 . [, point on edge near top level 20 . [, lower part of upright η, oblique and second upright 21 . [, lower end of ascending oblique, then, after a gap, tip of a tail on the line, α possible; foot of upright followed after gap by upright, η suitable 22 . [, cancelled by a long bar on the line and another just above, μ followed by traces suiting η (both uprights and, on partly abraded surface, ink at mid-level in between) 23 . [, inclined vertical joined at the top by the end of a horizontal bar, most likely ρ 24 . [, [ο] cancelled by a bar on the line, with specks before perhaps belonging to the same letter; above the line, in the main hand, ε with a trace before, perhaps the right-hand side of ϑ 25 . [, κ has a much thickened rising oblique (trace of a deletion stroke?); above, a descending oblique, curving somewhat to the left, compatible with the descending oblique of α: possibly κ corrected to δ 26 . [, probably τ, with η superscript by the main hand 27 . [, left-hand side of μ or η 28 . [, upright slightly inclined to the right, probably second leg of ν 29 . [, ο, ρ or damaged τ Above] ο damaged traces of two superscript letters 30 . [, ρ [α ς, of ρ, top and (below the line) lower part of vertical; of α, rising oblique joining descending oblique (the projecting tip of the descending oblique rules out α); the crest of a round open letter, most probably c (not the tip of the right arm of γ, otherwise always open and not curled) 31 . [, after δ high traces, perhaps apostrophe as in 7 followed by two or three parallel obliques as at the end of 27 32 . [, rising oblique, possibly λ 33 . [, apparently top of an upright (i?), then a speck at letter-top level 34 . [, flat trace on the line, e.g. tail of λ 35 . [, β, trace at mid-level compatible with lower part of a round letter, possibly ο 36 . [, ε, horizontal at mid-height joined from below towards its right-hand end by upright, possibly τ 37 . [, left-hand open arc high in the line 38 . [, trace below the line, perhaps an ascending oblique 39 . [, ν α, before ν, right-hand arc high in the line, almost certainly ω; after α, in the upper part of the line three oblique strokes, close together, rising towards the right 40 . [, α, upright joining horizontal bar at top and joined by a tail on the line, ρ rather than π 41 . [, τ, lower part of descending oblique, both λ and α possible 42 . [, upright joining horizontal bar: π or ρ 43 . [, ν, after high dot possibly κ 44 . [, τ, remains of small circlet high in line? or rather right-hand side of loop of α? 45 . [, ω, upright? 46 . [, ε, cross-bar joining ρ below letter-top level 47 . [, ρ, upright joined from the left near the top 48 . [, α, surplus ink on α at mid-level, perhaps a cancellation stroke; another thick stroke ascending gently to the right begins just to the right of its apex and continues onto confused and rubbed traces to the right, perhaps another cancelled letter; above, perhaps the left-hand side of ω 49 . [, ω ν, ω joined from the left near the top by a cross-stroke; after ν blank space 50 . [, ν, dot at line level 51 . [, ν, tip of rising oblique, perhaps flattened right arm of γ

Fr. 2

1 . [, upright, papyrus missing at letter-top level 2 ρ! [, or possibly π [*s.l.* ρ [, the lower part of an ascending oblique; above, the left-hand part of a cross-bar, beginning rather further to the right 4 . [, spot at mid-height 5 . [, on a narrow strip, perhaps e.g. the end of the tail of α with a trace belonging to another letter above its right-hand side 6 . (first), in damaged context at the join of two fragments, perhaps e.g. the upper left-hand arc of a circle (second), a dot at mid-height 7 . [, perhaps left-hand end of cross-bar of τ 8 . [, high in the line, e.g. the tip of the cap of c 9 . [, damaged and dislocated traces, perhaps the upper left-hand arc of a circle followed by the right-hand arc of a circle joined from the left near the foot 10 . [, the foot of an upright 11 . [, upright hooked to right at top and perhaps joined from left at mid-line level: anomalous, η possible 12 . [, lower part of upright ς, the upper right-hand corner and part of the left-hand side 13 . [, the first η apparently made out of μ by the addition of a clear-cut descending diagonal 14 . [, Of ρ the tail 15 . [, μ, short horizontal trace at 1/3 height, probably end of horizontal joining upright for τ 1 as in 17] τ 1 After ρ, separated by a crack, short low vertical trace and tall high vertical trace, perhaps a dicolon 16 . [, υτω, of γ the tips of both arms and rubbed traces of the vertical; of τ the left and right parts of the horizontal and the foot; then traces suggesting the left-hand half of ω 17 . [, right-hand arc of circle? 18 . [, foot of upright 19 . [, point on edge near top level 20 . [, lower part of upright η, oblique and second upright 21 . [, lower end of ascending oblique, then, after a gap, tip of a tail on the line, α possible; foot of upright followed after gap by upright, η suitable 22 . [, cancelled by a long bar on the line and another just above, μ followed by traces suiting η (both uprights and, on partly abraded surface, ink at mid-level in between) 23 . [, inclined vertical joined at the top by the end of a horizontal bar, most likely ρ 24 . [, [ο] cancelled by a bar on the line, with specks before perhaps belonging to the same letter; above the line, in the main hand, ε with a trace before, perhaps the right-hand side of ϑ 25 . [, κ has a much thickened rising oblique (trace of a deletion stroke?); above, a descending oblique, curving somewhat to the left, compatible with the descending oblique of α: possibly κ corrected to δ 26 . [, probably τ, with η superscript by the main hand 27 . [, left-hand side of μ or η 28 . [, upright slightly inclined to the right, probably second leg of ν 29 . [, ο, ρ or damaged τ Above] ο damaged traces of two superscript letters 30 . [, ρ [α ς, of ρ, top and (below the line) lower part of vertical; of α, rising oblique joining descending oblique (the projecting tip of the descending oblique rules out α); the crest of a round open letter, most probably c (not the tip of the right arm of γ, otherwise always open and not curled) 31 . [, after δ high traces, perhaps apostrophe as in 7 followed by two or three parallel obliques as at the end of 27 32 . [, rising oblique, possibly λ 33 . [, apparently top of an upright (i?), then a speck at letter-top level 34 . [, flat trace on the line, e.g. tail of λ 35 . [, β, trace at mid-level compatible with lower part of a round letter, possibly ο 36 . [, ε, horizontal at mid-height joined from below towards its right-hand end by upright, possibly τ 37 . [, left-hand open arc high in the line 38 . [, trace below the line, perhaps an ascending oblique 39 . [, ν α, before ν, right-hand arc high in the line, almost certainly ω; after α, in the upper part of the line three oblique strokes, close together, rising towards the right 40 . [, α, upright joining horizontal bar at top and joined by a tail on the line, ρ rather than π 41 . [, τ, lower part of descending oblique, both λ and α possible 42 . [, upright joining horizontal bar: π or ρ 43 . [, ν, after high dot possibly κ 44 . [, τ, remains of small circlet high in line? or rather right-hand side of loop of α? 45 . [, ω, upright? 46 . [, ε, cross-bar joining ρ below letter-top level 47 . [, ρ, upright joined from the left near the top 48 . [, α, surplus ink on α at mid-level, perhaps a cancellation stroke; another thick stroke ascending gently to the right begins just to the right of its apex and continues onto confused and rubbed traces to the right, perhaps another cancelled letter; above, perhaps the left-hand side of ω 49 . [, ω ν, ω joined from the left near the top by a cross-stroke; after ν blank space 50 . [, ν, dot at line level 51 . [, ν, tip of rising oblique, perhaps flattened right arm of γ

Fr. 3

1 . [, upright, papyrus missing at letter-top level 2 ρ! [, or possibly π [*s.l.* ρ [, the lower part of an ascending oblique; above, the left-hand part of a cross-bar, beginning rather further to the right 4 . [, spot at mid-height 5 . [, on a narrow strip, perhaps e.g. the end of the tail of α with a trace belonging to another letter above its right-hand side 6 . (first), in damaged context at the join of two fragments, perhaps e.g. the upper left-hand arc of a circle (second), a dot at mid-height 7 . [, perhaps left-hand end of cross-bar of τ 8 . [, high in the line, e.g. the tip of the cap of c 9 . [, damaged and dislocated traces, perhaps the upper left-hand arc of a circle followed by the right-hand arc of a circle joined from the left near the foot 10 . [, the foot of an upright 11 . [, upright hooked to right at top and perhaps joined from left at mid-line level: anomalous, η possible 12 . [, lower part of upright ς, the upper right-hand corner and part of the left-hand side 13 . [, the first η apparently made out of μ by the addition of a clear-cut descending diagonal 14 . [, Of ρ the tail 15 . [, μ, short horizontal trace at 1/3 height, probably end of horizontal joining upright for τ 1 as in 17] τ 1 After ρ, separated by a crack, short low vertical trace and tall high vertical trace, perhaps a dicolon 16 . [, υτω, of γ the tips of both arms and rubbed traces of the vertical; of τ the left and right parts of the horizontal and the foot; then traces suggesting the left-hand half of ω 17 . [, right-hand arc of circle? 18 . [, foot of upright 19 . [, point on edge near top level 20 . [, lower part of upright η, oblique and second upright 21 . [, lower end of ascending oblique, then, after a gap, tip of a tail on the line, α possible; foot of upright followed after gap by upright, η suitable 22 . [, cancelled by a long bar on the line and another just above, μ followed by traces suiting η (both uprights and, on partly abraded surface, ink at mid-level in between) 23 . [, inclined vertical joined at the top by the end of a horizontal bar, most likely ρ 24 . [, [ο] cancelled by a bar on the line, with specks before perhaps belonging to the same letter; above the line, in the main hand, ε with a trace before, perhaps the right-hand side of ϑ 25 . [, κ has a much thickened rising oblique (trace of a deletion stroke?); above, a descending oblique, curving somewhat to the left, compatible with the descending oblique of α: possibly κ corrected to δ 26 . [, probably τ, with η superscript by the main hand 27 . [, left-hand side of μ or η 28 . [, upright slightly inclined to the right, probably second leg of ν 29 . [, ο, ρ or damaged τ Above] ο damaged traces of two superscript letters 30 . [, ρ [α ς, of ρ, top and (below the line) lower part of vertical; of α, rising oblique joining descending oblique (the projecting tip of the descending oblique rules out α); the crest of a round open letter, most probably c (not the tip of the right arm of γ, otherwise always open and not curled) 31 . [, after δ high traces, perhaps apostrophe as in 7 followed by two or three parallel obliques as at the end of 27 32 . [, rising oblique, possibly λ 33 . [, apparently top of an upright (i?), then a speck at letter-top level 34 . [, flat trace on the line, e.g. tail of λ 35 . [, β, trace at mid-level compatible with lower part of a round letter, possibly ο 36 . [, ε, horizontal at mid-height joined from below towards its right-hand end by upright, possibly τ 37 . [, left-hand open arc high in the line 38 . [, trace below the line, perhaps an ascending oblique 39 . [, ν α, before ν, right-hand arc high in the line, almost certainly ω; after α, in the upper part of the line three oblique strokes, close together, rising towards the right 40 . [, α, upright joining horizontal bar at top and joined by a tail on the line, ρ rather than π 41 . [, τ, lower part of descending oblique, both λ and α possible 42 . [, upright joining horizontal bar: π or ρ 43 . [, ν, after high dot possibly κ 44 . [, τ, remains of small circlet high in line? or rather right-hand side of loop of α? 45 . [, ω, upright? 46 . [, ε, cross-bar joining ρ below letter-top level 47 . [, ρ, upright joined from the left near the top 48 . [, α, surplus ink on α at mid-level, perhaps a cancellation stroke; another thick stroke ascending gently to the right begins just to the right of its apex and continues onto confused and rubbed traces to the right, perhaps another cancelled letter; above, perhaps the left-hand side of ω 49 . [, ω ν, ω joined from the left near the top by a cross-stroke; after ν blank space 50 . [, ν, dot at line level 51 . [, ν, tip of rising oblique, perhaps flattened right arm of γ

Fr. 2

2] η, right-hand arc at mid-level, ρ or φ η, substantial ink above left side of ε, more than expected for a high stop: remains of superscript letter? ε [, rubbed traces of upright 3 . [, short horizontal at mid height surmounted by what looks like left-hand arc of a circle 6] . , foot of descending oblique, α or λ 7 . [, low speck 8 . [, dot at bottom level 9 . [, lower right-hand arc 12] α, the joining diagonals are quite thick; perhaps correction *currente calamo?* 13 *s.l.* γ . . , see comm.

Fr. 3

1 Above ρ, seemingly the lower arc of a circle, apparently interlinear rather than belonging to the line above 6 . . , first, upright?; second, upright with further low ink to its right 7] . , upright slanting to the right . [] . [, first, ρ or π; second, cap and cross-bar of ε?

Fr. 1

2 (124/524) The superscript (character-name) raises a general problem. Four passages are relevant. (a) Here we read γ [, the second letter apparently α or λ. (b) Fr. 2.13 has γ . . , where the second letter is doubtful (but too much ink for ε) and the third may be a raised τ or a high bar above other ink. (c) 157/557 in 4408 has . . τ, where the second letter looks like α or λ (κρατ(εα) ed., but the first two letters are very uncertain). (d) 184/584 in 2656 'interlinear nota begins with oblique upright (γ or π), after an interval α, and possibly top of ν' Turner, who suggests γ[ρ]αυ(ς). There is a chance that these all represent the same name; none of them can be clearly read as Γετ(ας), who would otherwise seem a good prospect. (a), (b), and (d) might converge on γλν̄, i.e. Γλν(κέρα): for this name in Menander see *Pk.* with Gomme-Sandbach p. 466 and fr. *96 KA.

can therefore combine the two: τὴν γῆν κροτοῦσαν . . . [± 6]ζαντ. [After αν', κ likely in **5198**, κα[doubtfully read in **2656**.

τὴν γῆν κροτοῦσαν: that is, dancing (κρότος ποδῶν Eur. *Held.* 783, *Trö.* 546)?

End: . . . [± 6]ζαντ. [should provide a connective and a masculine name or noun, to judge by what follows. The beginning might be κα[ι or the like; the end may be τα[or perhaps το[or τρ[. We have tried κἄ[τι Δημ]έαν τρ[ίτον] / [c]πέειονθ' (the third libation is the last: if it signals the end of the party, that would explain the curious νῦν δ' οὐκέτι in 32). But]ε looks much more like]c, and ρ[too is doubtful.

30 (152/552)]επω. []εραν[**5198**.

2656]πεισονθ' . . .]τρεπω. [. . .]εραν. [. . .]τ. Any paragraphus would be lost in the initial damage.

5198 merely confirms the basic reconstruction c]πέειονθ' . . .]τρεπω. [. . .]εραν. [. . .]τ. c]πέειονθ' for -cοντα, rather than c]πέειόν θ', in parallel with κροτοῦσαν. But an aspirated vowel must follow, which excludes ξ[πι]τρέπω, as Austin notes (*CGFP* 151).

31 (153/553)] . ρια. [] . ων [**5198**: before ρ an upright with ink joining from left near the top; α. [apparently cancelled, perhaps ω superscript; before ω a horizontal trace joining the upper left of ω, after it a space.

2656: Turner gives . . .]υ[. . .]αν. [. . .]τηριω. . . [. . .] . . . [.

4408] . . . [. . .]αθ . . . [. . .]νειαρεϊς . . . [. . .]υ, εἰ 'overwritten on or with another letter, π most likely'.

Turner proposed ἐ[τ]ω [το]ιαῦθ' [ικε]τηρίων. Gonis on **4408** observed that [ικε] is too long, and]τ uncertain, and with his new evidence considered ἐ[τ]ω [το]ιαῦτα θηρίων, and then e.g. παρειαφέρων. He noted that θηρίων is a little short for the space in **4408**. However, the noun could fit the context, if it concerns drunken singing at the party which includes 'pig man' (161/561); compare *Dysc.* 481 (unwanted visitors), *Pk.* 366 (incompetent slaves). After that we suggest παρειαφέρων, since -φερων does not suit the trace before ων in **5198**. This, if we take 32 λανθάνει as the main verb, gives us: 'Someone is letting . . . of beasts inside without our knowing'. The line-beginning must then be rethought: we need e.g. ἐθ]νη or γέ]νη [το]ιαῦτα θηρίων.

5198 offers θ]ηρια. [, with α. [apparently cancelled and corrected to ω[by supralinear addition (but the trace after α is unaccounted for, and the presumed supralinear ω stands above that trace, not above α).

The final] ων [rules out W. Luppe's [δ]νειαρ εἰσφέ[ρο]υ[τά τ]ι (*APF* 47 (2001) 193).

32 (154/554)]λαν. [] . νδ[**5198**.

2656 . . .]ωτι[. . .]μα[. . .]νθ[. . .]ε. ρ[. . .]δου. ε. [.

4408 [. . .]ιζημακλανθαειννδουκετι.

5198 fits neatly into the verse as reconstructed from **4408** (Gonis): εἴ]ρω τις ἡμᾶς λανθάνει, νῦν δ' οὐκέτι.

Fr. 2

To be placed above fr. 1, in the same column: see introd.

8]ατυχ. [: perhaps ατυχε[. ἀτύχημα (390/793) and ἀτυχώ (A29/29) are used by Thrasonides with reference to his own predicament vis-à-vis Krateia. Here the word is uttered by Chrysis, probably discussing Thrasonides' situation. On the ἀτύχημα/ἀδικία motif in the *Misoumenos*, see A. Giacomoni, *QUCC* 58 (1998) 96-7.

9 ἐγὼ δ' ἀδ[ελφ-? Or ἐγὼδα (*Asp.* 398, *Pk.* 749).

13 τικυ[at speech-beginning may represent τί κύ: τί κύ λέγεις *Heros* 15, *Fab. Inc.* 52. Above τικ three or four superscript letters, the first apparently γ, the last a raised τ or a long horizontal marking abbreviation, as in 8 χῆ. See fr. 1.2 n.

Fr. 3

The recto seems to have line-beginnings; and it is possible that these should be aligned with the line-beginnings on the right-hand side of the lower part of fr. 1 recto. In that case, the verso text would belong to the same column as fr. 1 and 2. But there is no present evidence to fix its level.

4]περανα[: possibly an aorist form of περαίνω, cf. e.g. *Kolax* 82, *Pk.* 780, fr. 64.5 KA.

W. B. HENRY / P. J. PARSONS / L. PRAUSCELLO

5199. MENANDER, MISOUMENOS 352-65 SANDBACH/753-66 ARNOTT +

30 4B.37/A(1-3)b

5.2 × 12.5 cm

First century
Plate VI

Line-beginnings from the foot of a column; the lower margin survives to a depth of c.3 cm. The back is blank, except for smudges or offsets. The hand is strictly bilinear, to the extent that even the descenders of ρ and φ respect the lower line. The notional lower line is emphasized by serifs. Among letter-forms, note α with horizontal cross-bar; ε with a cap that sometimes continues at the right to close in on the cross-bar; φ with its roundel in diamond shape. This is the 'Roman Uncial' in a fairly primitive stage. Compare for example P. Ryl. III 482 and VIII 1084, both assigned to the first century AD (Cavallo, *ASNP* 36 (1967) 212-14 and pl. 3 = *Il calamo e il papiro* 153-5 and pl. XXXV b, d). This dating assumes that such 'primitivity' reflects the diachronic development of the style rather than the personal ineptness of the copyist. No lectional signs can be detected with certainty. Elision is unmarked (18 αλλεμ).

Lines 13-14 overlap with a couplet quoted as from Menander's *Misoumenos* (fr. 8 Körte = 364-5 Sandbach/765-6 Arnott); line 13 (364/765) is preserved also in a papyrus codex of *Misoumenos*, XXXIII **2656** (Sandbach's O10), and the whole text would be expected to overlap that of **2656**. In fact lines 6-13 of **5199** correspond to **2656** 357-364/758-765. Line 13 of **5199** offers the reading ἀπαμφιέει instead of the Attic future ἀπαμφιεῖ transmitted by the indirect tradition and confirmed by **2656**.

The latter part of the new fragment raises a problem with the current (tentative) reconstruction of **2656**. Page D↓ of **2656** and on the other side of the leaf page D→ i consist of an upper fragment, A, and a lower fragment, B; A itself combines two smaller fragments (a) and (b). Fragment A has no clear margin at top or foot; fragment B has a clear lower margin. Turner noted (XXXIII pp. 44-5) that 'it is not absolutely sure that A belongs to this column, and the relative position of a in relation to b may not be right'. His (and Sandbach's) line 364 (765 A) = **5199** 13 forms the last line on page D↓ (the foot of fr. B). Line 365/766 = **5199** 14, already known from a quotation, should form the first line on page D→ i (the top of fr. A). Turner concluded that at least one line was lost at the head, as 365/766 cannot be

reconciled with the (minimal) traces of the first surviving line. **5199** now provides the beginnings of 365/766 and the next six verses, and these too seem not to agree with any of the legible line-beginnings in Turner's fragment A(b). Specifically, **5199** 20 cannot be reconciled with any of the line-beginnings 368-79/769-81. It might in theory be reconcilable with 367/768, since only the slightest traces of that line remain. But if that is so, then a minimum of 5 verses is lost between the foot of D↓ and the first surviving line of D→ i. Thus D→ i must have contained at least 43 lines, while the other pages of the codex contain c.35-40 lines; and its written height would extend to c.28 cm, compared with c.24.5 cm in leaf B (the best preserved). These anomalies suggest that the placing of fr. A of sheet D is in serious doubt: it may indeed be 'the only surviving portion of another leaf now completely lost' (Turner, *New Fragments* 7).

The text was identified, as part of the exercise 'Ancient Lives', by D. Danbeck.

In the partial reconstruction printed below, the contribution of **5199** is given in bold, and underlined where it overlaps another source.

	.]. [
	.]. [
	rubbed	
	rubbed	
	stripped	355/756
5	...]λυονθ' .]. [	.]. ... <u>ἀλύονθ'</u> ᾧ[δε] πολλὰ πρ[ά]γματα,
	...]εμες νμ[	εἰ δ' εἰς μέσον μ. φερ...
	...]οιστ. τ. ν. [	<u>ἑτέροις τι τουτ</u> . . αυ. ελ. [
	... ]... [	360/761
10	...]... [
	.]. [
	]τροπον. θεξ... [	<u>τρόπον καθέξω</u> τούτο καὶ φέρω.
	] παμφιεσιγαρτοκα[	<u>ἀπαμφιεῖ γὰρ τὸ κατάπλαστον</u> τούτο μου
	] καιλανθανεινβουλο[	καὶ <u>λανθάνειν βουλόμενον</u> ἢ μέθη ποτέ,
15	] αςχη. ονης. δ. .... [	<u>ἀςχημονήσω</u> δ. [
	...]... θαρ... [
	]. [ ... ] ν. [...] εξωτ... [
	] αλλεμφ. νιζ. [	<u>ἀλλ' ἐμφανίζ</u> . . [
	]. [ ... ] α. [...] [
20	...]υτον... [...] α. [
	foot	

1] . [, single point of ink on stripped surface 2] . [, top arc of oval, surface abraded below (ε, ο, ο) 6] λ, rather than λ, λ . . [, lower left-hand arc of circle, then ink suiting the right-hand base of ω, together perhaps parts of a single ω 7] ζ, lower arc and upper left-hand corner of circle ζ, , of ζ the left-hand arc, then curving trace level with letter-tops, other specks of ink lower down, probably ο 8 τ, , ink just above letter-tops, leaning upwards from left to right (spacing suggests top of ι) τ, , upper half of oval (ε, ο) . [, on the edge, upright with serified foot 9-11 rubbed; dots represent mere specks, except when noted 9] . . [, second, horizontal trace 12] τρ, of ρ traces from the upper left-hand corner and the top of the loop ν, . θεξ . . [, c.2 mm to the right of ν, trace of a descending oblique at mid-line level; then, again at mid-line level, trace of a rising oblique joining a horizontal; of ο the lower arc and cross-bar; of ε the cross-bar and part of the lower arc; of ζ remains from central cross-bar, lower oblique and base; then extended low horizontal (base of ω?); then serif on the lower line, lower left-hand arc followed by two points ranged vertically in lower half of line (τφ acceptable) 13] . , serified foot κα[, of κ the upright and the junction of the obliques; of λ the join of the diagonals high in the line 14 ο[, upper left-hand arc of a circle 15 η, , abraded traces, rightmost curving tail at line-level, joining ο (μ suitable) ζ, , traces suiting the left-hand cup of ω, abraded to the right δ . . . [, abraded traces: upright with serified foot; low trace closely followed by low trace with high trace above (head and foot of upright?); low trace apparently joined from left by descending oblique, with ink above (e.g. second upright of ν); then low trace with ink above; spot on line, ink above; high trace, perhaps sloping up from left to right 16] . . , first an upright with remains of cross-bar to left and right at letter-top level (τ?), then a trace low in the line, followed by the upper and lower parts of a round letter (ε, ο, c rather than ο), perhaps joined at line-level by stroke from left ρ . . [, rubbed and confused traces] . . [, tops and feet of letters; first apparently has extended horizontal level with letter-tops 17] . [, trace on line; lower left-hand arc of circle, then trace just above the line] . ν. [, low trace; of ν the top left junction and top and foot of right-hand upright; touching this upright at the top, beginning of horizontal (e.g. τ)] . ε, rubbed horizontal traces at top and bottom level, then ε rather than ο 18 φ, , trace on line, then traces of diagonal sloping down to right . . [, left and right sides as of broad oval; point level with letter-tops 19] , badly rubbed; first what seems to be an upright joining a horizontal bar, then a dot high in the line followed by the upper part of a rising oblique (to form κ?), then an oblique stroke high in the line followed by an upright; then again traces at line and top level of what looks like a slightly curved upright; then more abraded traces α . . [] . [, abraded: top of upright, tip of oblique rising from left to right, further ink at mid-line (together perhaps κ); top of circle, then low dot, then another low dot, then thin low horizontal; high trace 20 ν . . [, lower arc of a round letter, then a seemingly horizontal stroke in mid line; high ink] . . , abraded α . [, of λ parts of the apex and right-hand oblique; then scattered traces (abraded)

6 (357/758) ...]λυονθ' .]. [, after θ perhaps simply ω[. Turner read **2656** as νθ' . [. .] ολ. απ. [.] ματ[: before the first a he saw]κηλ or χηλ, then 'a descender half-way between α and ν'; after θ' 'a vertical which may belong to interlinear'; after [. .] , 'πολλὰ πρ[ά]γματα would suit' (the final α represents an apparent trace omitted from his transcript; in any case the papyrus breaks off, so that we cannot be sure whether the line ended here or not). We could combine the two as . . . αλυονθ' ᾧ[. .] πολλα πρ[ά]γματα (the high vertical that Turner saw after θ' will then belong to a rough breathing). The first α looks plausible, which would exclude e.g. ἀπολλύονθ': it would allow α-ἀλύονθ' ᾧ[δε] πολλὰ πρ[ά]γματα, where ἀλύοντα 'desponding' would fit well with μικροψ[υ]χον (**2656**) in the line before: so perhaps (356/757) . . . με μικρόψ[υ]χον εἰπέ τι[ς], τυχόν, / [δ]ρών ἀλύονθ' ᾧ[δε] πολλὰ πράγματα, where [δ]ρών is not excluded by the space in **5199** or the traces in **2656**. There remains a problem with the syntax. ἀλύειν is normally intransitive, and it normally applies to persons, so that the participle should not agree with πράγματα. For the transitive use, LSJ + Rev. Suppl. s.v. III

III. SUBLITERARY TEXTS

5201. COMMENTARY ON PINDAR, *OLYMPIAN* 1

31 4B.9/N(9)a

10.7 × 15.2 cm

First century BC / first century AD
Plate VII

A fragment of a papyrus roll with text running along the fibres, apparently cut down to the present size and shape for a letter to be written on the back, upside down in relation to the text on the front. Parts of two consecutive columns are preserved, the first almost to its full width including line-ends, and line-beginnings of the second, containing lemmata, paraphrase, and comment on *O.* 1.17–27 and 30–39. The beginnings of two lines in a more cursive hand, apparently including a paraphrase of *O.* 1.43, are written in the upper margin of col. ii.

The lines, as reconstructed on the basis of the lemmata, range from 24 to 33 letters, thus 27–8 letters on average, giving an original column width of *c.* 70 mm, plus *c.* 10 mm intercolumnial space. The number of lines in the original column may be estimated (again from the missing lemmata plus average length of paraphrase or explanation) at *c.* 55, giving a total height for the written area of *c.* 18 cm. The height of the margins is not known: the upper margin (which may not be preserved to its full original height) extends to *c.* 1.5 cm. The commentary appears to cover roughly 22 of Heyne's lines per column. At this rate, the whole of the *Olympians* would take 71 columns to cover; if there had been introductory material (perhaps comments on the date, victor, and contest of each of the odes—which is uncertain), the roll as a whole may have reached as many as 75 columns, and a length of 6 metres.

The main hand is an informal round bookhand, basically bilinear (but with bilinearity breached by φ and †), with semi-cursive tendencies: round shapes in ε ο ο c, vertical extension in the other letters, and frequent connection. It bears a close resemblance to the script of XXIII 2367, another commentary on lyric verse (Bacchylides, *Epinicians*), copied on the back of a document, which shows many of the same idiosyncrasies. The size of writing is much smaller in 5201 than in 2367 (two-thirds the width and height; almost half the area), but it will be worth considering if both derive from the same scribe: in favour of this is the shared shape of the line-filler, against are minor variations in letter-forms (for example, in 2367 the cross-piece of ο is sometimes reduced to a central dot, not so in 5201).

Lobel dated 2367 'not . . . later than the first half of the second century, if indeed it does not fall within the first', and the dating I/II AD subsists e.g. in CLGP I.1.4 (Bacchylides 1). However, the similar script of LXXVIII 5143 (Isocrates) was assigned to the second half of the first century BC or the earlier first century AD by

comparison to XIV 1635 (Cavallo–Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands* no. 85), a deed of cession objectively dated to 44–30 BC (see BL VII 140); and the overall ungainliness recalls other examples with contextual dates in the first century AD (*GLH* 10a, 11a). On this basis we tentatively assign 5201 to the period I BC / I AD. The verso text provides no real check: the hand of the letter is a chunky half-cursive assignable to I/II AD.

The commentary, which is comparable in a number of places with the mediæval scholia (cf. on i 5–6, 10, 11, 18; ii 11, 31–2), is elementary and perfunctory, in some cases somewhat randomly explanatory. The lemmata, which consist of two to twenty-eight words, are written out in full, as prose (i.e. without colometry), and in consecutive entries, so as to reproduce (at any rate in the preserved portion) the entire text of the poem without omission. These are printed in the text below in bold and restored where deficient within lower half brackets in accordance with the spacing and the manuscript tradition of Pindar. The commentary on each lemma consists of a paraphrase (often simply replacing the poem's words with Koine prose forms), often with similar word-order, and occasionally adding a certain amount of explanation of varying relevance. The explanation may come in the course of the paraphrase. More learned material makes a brief appearance: at ii 33–5 we find a reference and comparison to Pindar's *ὑπορχήματα*; at i 19–23 there is a brief historical note; at i 14 a rhetorical term (*ἔμφασις*) is invoked in the explanation. No other commentary on Pindar reproduces the text to this extent in its lemmata or explanations.

The scribe consistently writes iota adscript; once ει is written for ἱ (i 17 *νείκηι*, inconsistently so: contrast i 11 *νικ*], i 10 *Φερενικ*], and cf. ii 4). There is no discernible punctuation (apart from blank space at the end of an explanation and before a new lemma, thus coinciding with sentence-end). Accents are written twice, in both cases in a lemma, to distinguish otherwise identical forms (i 15 *κράτει* to distinguish from *κρατεί*, ii 14 *έστι* with its accent when initial). The scribe tacitly elides final vowels before words beginning with vowels in the lemmata, but writes with *scriptio plena* in the commentary (i 13), except when repeating words from the lemma (ii 28). At line-end, letters are occasionally suspended, or filler-signs added, in order to justify the margin. The filler-sign varies between † and 7, and may be doubled (i 24) or reinforced by a double point (clearly at i 15); for such signs in general, see above p. 58. Word-ends are sometimes suspended, even within the line (e.g. ii 16, 28), often followed by a small space. Suspension of this kind is combined with contraction at i 24 *πελοπ(οc)* (probably also at i 26), ii 3 *ανθρωπ(οιc)*, ii 9 *επιλοιπ(οι)*, where the omitted elements are represented by an almost semicircular π above the preceding letter. Contraction is marked by a suprascript line at i 12 *ποταμ(οc)*, 14 *ιπ]π(οc)*, ii 35 *πινδ(αροc)*, and probably i 19 *φη(ει)*. For *πρ(οc)* the scribe employs the monogram ϖ consisting of a π with a ρ intersecting its top. A new lemma is signalled by space within and paragraphus beneath the line in which it begins, together with *έκθεσις*

	προτερωνφθεγ[	προτέρων φθέγξομαι [
	μαιπαραταυπο [	μαι παρὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τ[ῶν προτέρων εἶρη-
	μεναπεριςσοουκ[	μένα περὶ {c} σοῦ· ὁ κ[
	ευστοχ.στην [	εὐστόχως τὴν [κα-
25	θαρασεκτηδια [	25 θαρας ἐκ τῆς δια [ὀπότ' ἐκάλεσε
	πατηρτονευνο[	πατήρ τὸν εὐνομώτατον ἐς ἔρανον
	φιλαντεσιπυλον[	φίλαν τε Cίπυλον, ἄμοιβαία θεοῖσι δείπνα
	παρε ^{χων} δτεκ [	παρέχων· ὀπότ' ἐκά[λεσε
	ειστονευνομ [	εἰς τὸν εὐνομώ[τατον εὐ-
30	νομωτατονθ [	30 νομώτατον θ [καὶ τὴν
	φιληνσιπυλον[	φίλην Cίπυλον· [Cίπυλος ὄρος Λυδίας
	καιπολιςτοιςθ[	καὶ πόλις τοῖς θ[εοῖς ἐ-
	ξαμοιβηδεει ^{πν} [	ξ ἀμοιβῆς δεῖπν[α] [
	υπορχημασιτη[	ὑπορχήμασι τη[
35	ριστησι [πινδ[	35 ρίστησι [ὁ] Πινδ(αρος) [

Col. i

3], tip of high horizontal [high horizontal 4], short diagonal on edge at top, e.g. top right extremity of c 5 a [top of triangular letter], traces in upper part of writing space 6], low curving stroke, ligature to following ε [left end of horizontal at upper level (τ?) 7], two traces in diagonal alignment descending from left to right in upper part of writing space 8], speck on the baseline]υ, above υ the hooked foot of a descending oblique; then a rubbed upright as of ι, then (encroaching on the margin) a small upright with more ink to its left and a thin horizontal extending rightwards from its top and then curving downwards 9]αυ, the apex of α or λ separated from its two legs by a break in the papyrus (but too much ink at left for λ), then η or λι, but space probably too narrow for the latter], short horizontal trace at mid-height 10 [], loop as of right-hand side of γ or μ 11], two traces, one at top and one at mid-height, as of diagonal descending from left to right φ, trace of left-hand arc 12 λι [top of oblique descending from left to right 13], hooked foot joining ο, as of α, λ, μ], c, trace at mid-height 14 κ added suprascript then deleted with a diagonal stroke ρι, lower arc at line-level τρ, scattered traces on disordered fibres 16], ink on edge at one-third height], remains of diagonal descending from left to right 17 ηι, right-hand arc (loop of ρ?) projecting above normal top level], remains of upright? 18], lower arc]ππ[high horizontals with three verticals descending, suprascript perhaps bottom arc of ω], ε, upright with joining stroke curving upwards into back of ε s.l . . . , two uprights, followed by round letter like c or ο, then upright in right part of letter-space, with blank space on line (erased letter?) marking point of suprascript insertion, as elsewhere in this text at end, points of ink at letter-top level (suprascript?) 19], upper arc of round letter τη [upright in left part of letter space], lower arc on displaced fibres?; foot of upright τ, top (of diagonal?) joining right-hand extremity of τ υ, uncertain traces (letter or filler-sign?) 20], sinuous upright projecting well above letter-tops 23], upright curving rightwards at base δ, three points of ink in vertical alignment 25], tip of (curving?) tail at line-level π, lower arc, ?foot of upright], ink level with letter-tops 26], right-hand end of high horizontal ω, oblique foot (spacing suggests ι) 27], point on

edge at line-level; more ink above joining cross-bar of τ?], hooked foot of upright], short horizontal trace at line-level below lacuna; point above lacuna 28], short horizontal trace on edge], upright 29], end of high horizontal from right, point on line below 30], tip of horizontal or oblique at mid-height 31 at beginning, a diagonal stroke, then π, over which υ has been written, and to the left of that an ο with its bottom part missing 34 []υ[top of a vertical, then traces suggesting top of η, allowing e.g.]υ[ο]υ but not]μ[ε]υ[

Col. ii

1], trace on edge, slightly below mid-height 2], horizontal trace on edge, level with letter-tops 4], remains of left-hand arc on edge 6], at mid-height, oblique sloping down from right to left, hooked sharply to right at foot 7 κ, see comm. 8], at line-level, ink sloping down from right to left, perhaps from loop of α 11], angular lower arc 16], towards line-level, ink sloping down gently from right to left 19], horizontal at upper level with upright as of τ or π, further ink at mid-height to right (τ [or remains of π?) 20], point of ink at letter-top level 22], ink (left-hand end of horizontal?) touching ο near top 24 χ, lower legs and top left of χ, then high ink (belonging to χ or to the next letter?) and to right of writing space, in the upper part of the line, two dots in vertical alignment], upright hooked rightwards at foot, with medial crossbar sloping up to right 25 δια [point on edge at top level 28], in upper part of writing space, oblique sloping down gently from left to right, two levels of horizontal ink below 29], ink at top level, to left of writing space, rising gently from left to right 30 θ [apparently lower left arc, in upper part of writing space (not α) 33], top left quadrant of a round letter, with a dot of ink at mid-level protruding to right of arc, as of ε

Col. i

1-3 Part of a lemma, which must have begun (at the bottom of the preceding column) with υ. 17 of the poem, to judge from the paraphrase and remarks below i 3-15, and extends to v. 21: ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου / λάμβαν', εἰ τί τοι Πίνας τε καὶ Φερενίκου χάρις / νόον ὑπὸ γλυκντάταις ἔθηκε φροντίων, / ὅτε κτλ.; thus only the second half of the lemma is preserved, together with paraphrase and remarks on the first half.

2 Ἀλφεῶν: an obvious error for the Ἀλφεῶι given by the mediaeval MSS.

3 εἰυ: the trace is the tip of a high cross-stroke; to read it as η, we must take it as a serif on the tip of the second upright, which would be highly anomalous. εχ would be much easier, if sense could be made of it.

5-6 A number of explanations for Δωρίαν are given in the scholia, of which this is one: sch. 26f ὅτι δωριστὶ συντέτακται ὁ ἐπίνικος. Pindar is called Αἰολεὺς at sch. Ν. 3.136a καθὸ τῶι γένει ἐστὶν Αἰολεὺς ὡς Βουωτός, cf. 136b, P. 2.128a.

7-8 Π[ίης γ]λυκν[τάτ]αις: if Π[ίης] is correct, presumably a participle like γενομένη (or perhaps τὸν νόον) is missing.

8-9 Presumably still part of the paraphrase, with the explanations starting somewhere in 10.

9 . . .]αυ: uncertain (see palaeographic note). An article might have been expected before Ἀλφειο[(assuming this is still part of the paraphrase).

10 Cf. sch. 29a ὄνομα τοῦ νικήσαντος ἵππου (thus here: 'Pherenikos is the horse?').

11 Perhaps χάρις ἢ νικητήριος ἡδονή (cf. sch. 29a χάρις δὲ ἢ ἐπὶ τῆι νίκηι ἡδονή), which would fit the space before Α]λφε[ι]-.

12]ων: WBH suggests περιρρέ]ων, cf. sch. 32a ὁ γὰρ Ἀλφεὸς ἐν Ἀρκαδίαι τὰς πηγὰς ἔχει, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀρχόμενος περιρρεῖ καὶ τὴν Ἥλω.

13 . . .] Ὀλυμπια: the trace a hooked foot, as of α, λ, μ. Perhaps Ἥλις [οῦ τ]ὰ Ὀλύμπια (WBH), 'Elis is the site of the Olympics'.

14 ἀκέντριτος: also found as a gloss on the Homeric ἠκέστας, e.g. sch. D *Il.* 6.94 van Thiel ἠκέστας: ἀκεντρίστους, ἀδαμάστους (ἀκεντρήτους QX, ἀκεντήτους LT).

14–15 ἔμφασις γενναϊότητος(ος): ‘an implication of nobility’, i.e. of the horse (or by extension, its owner), in the words just paraphrased (on his ability to race ungoaded). But ἔμφασις may also mean ‘emphasis’ in the modern sense; see R. Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work* (2009) 221.

15–16 A complete lemma, covering vv. 22–3 of the poem. Variants: 15 (22) προ(ε)μίξει (anticipating Schroeder’s printing): προ(ε)μίξει given by the mediaeval MSS; 16 (23) Κυρακόσιον ἵπποχάρμην: Κυρακόσιον (variously misspelt) and ἵπποχάρμην (or -χαρμῶν) the mediaeval MSS. In the latter, -ίων would be unmetrical, and the comments in the mediaeval scholia presuppose accusative -ιον . . . -χάρμην. The correction of ἵππο- to ἵππο-, printed in modern editions, has been owed until now to the Byzantine recensions.

18 ἐ[φ’] ἵππῳ[ν] μαχόμενον. For the explanation of ἵπποχάρμην, cf. Apollon. *Lex.* (= sch. *Od.* 11.259) ἵπποχάρμην ἤτοι χαίροντα ἵπποις ἢ ἐφ’ ἵππων μαχόμενον (similarly sch. D *Il.* 24.257 van Thiel; for the former, cf. also sch. Pind. *O.* 1.35a τὸν τῆι ἵππικῆι χαίροντα). If μαχόμενον is rightly restored, we must conclude that the commentator chose what might otherwise be thought the wrong explanation for the context (though Verdenius on v. 23 provides a counter-argument). But it seems impossible to fit χαίροντα into this sequence, and μαχόμενον may be supported by what appears to be a reference to historical fighting in the remains of 19–23 (note the imperfect in 22). On the compound, see further M. Benedetti, ‘Il composto omerico ἵπποχάρμη’, *RAL* 34 (1979) 169–85; E. Cingano, ‘Il cavallo “aiutante magico” nella Grecia eroica’, in id. et al. (edd.), *Animali tra zoologia, mito e letteratura nella cultura classica e orientale* (2005) 139–54, at 149–50 with nn. 48–50.

20–21 συνέχ[-: with πολέμους, perhaps a part of συνίστημι.

21 Ἰωνά. One looks for a proper name. But Hieron is less likely, if he is the subject of the verb in 22. This leaves Gelon, Theron (but these outside the reach of *O.* 1?), or perhaps a Carthaginian personal name (cf. perhaps Λιβύ-).

23 Perhaps Hieron (or one of those considered above) gained possession of τὰς ἐν | [. πόλεις], e.g. Sicily?, Carthage?, ‘Libya’? E.g. τὰς ἐν | [Κικελίαι πόλεις (Κικελίαι perhaps a little long for the space, but as Prof. D’Alessio notes, the scribe may have suspended or abbreviated the word-end). Or perhaps simply τὰς ἐν ταύθα πόλεις (WBH).

23–4 Lemma (vv. 23–4).

26 For the contraction of Πέλοπος see 24.

27 [λέγει]: sc. the poet, if correctly restored, in which case the commentator explicitly identifies the ἀποικία in the poem as Elis. Alternatively, WBH suggests τὴν Ἥλιν, [ὡς ἐρεῖ (sc. ὁ Πίνδαρος), δ] Πέλοψ κτλ.: the commentator would be looking forward to *O.* 9.6–10 σεμνὸν . . . ἀκρωτήριον Ἰλιδος . . . / τὸ δὴ ποτε Λυδὸς ἦρωσ Πέλοψ / ἐξάρτα κάλλιστον ἔδνον Ἰπποδαμείας (sch. *O.* 9.15b offers a similar paraphrase of that passage: δ αὐτὸς ἐκείνην λαβὼν προσεκτέατο). For ὡς ἐρεῖ referring forward in the text under discussion, cf. sch. Hes. *Op.* 785–6 (but referring forward only a short distance, to 788).

29–31 Lemma (vv. 25–6).

31 δάν, οδ. δάν will just fit the space, or project slightly into the left margin. Then apparently ἀπο, with ον written (as correction) above ἀπ. This reconstruction makes good sense, but does not account for the original ἀπο.

32–4 Lemma (vv. 26–7).

32 μιν: νιν (the Doric form) is given by the mediaeval MSS. LXXV 5039 gives at *P.* 1.32 another example of μιν where only νιν was previously attested. For the problem, see Barrett, *Greek Lyric, Tragedy, & Textual Criticism* (2007) 112 n. 29; Braswell on *P.* 4.79(e).

33 ἐξείλε with the mediaeval MSS, unmetrically: ἐξείλε Mosch.

Between the end of col. i and the beginning of col. ii we are missing (a) paraphrase and/or

explanation of 32–4 (v. 26) ἐπεὶ μιν . . . κεκαδμένον; (b) a complete lemma for vv. 28–9 ἢ θαύματα . . . μῦθοι; (c) paraphrase/explanation for this; (d) the beginning (χάρις . . . ἐμήσατο, vv. 30–31) of the lemma of which we have the end at the top of col. ii. (b) and (d) between them will have amounted to c.166 letters, about 6 lines of text in the present prose format. If the paraphrases themselves extended to c.7 lines, and as much space again (proportionate to the preserved entries) was taken up by the explanations, we shall be missing at least 20–21 lines, which, with the preserved 34 lines, gives a total of c.55 lines for the column.

Col. ii

mg. WBH supplies μετα][γενετέρω χρόνῳ, recognizing here a paraphrase of *O.* 1.43 δευτέρω χρόνῳ. Perhaps part of the text had dropped out through an oversight lower down the column.

1 Conclusion of a lemma, originally covering vv. 30–32 of the poem ([χάρις δ’, ἄπερ ἅπαντα τεύχει τὰ μείλιχα θνατοῖς, / ἐπιφέρουσα τιμῶν καὶ ἄπιστον ἐμήσατο] πιστὸν / ἔμμεναι τὸ πολλάκις), of which the papyrus preserves the end of v. 31 and all of v. 32.

2 ff. WBH suggests a possible reconstruction, using the elements in sch. 48b, e.g.,

χά-
ρις ἤπερ ἅπαντ[α τὰ ἡδέα πράγματα
τοῖς ἀνθρώποισι] π[αρασκευάζει, τὴν
τε(ι)μὴν ἐπιφέ[ρουσα πολλάκις
ἐπετήδευσεν τ[ὸ ἄπιστον πιστὸν πα-
ραδοχῆι ποιήσασθαι

(of which πράγματα (2) may have had its termination suspended to save space).

5–6 πα][ραδοχῆι: potentially a term of textual or literary criticism, either in the sense of ‘tradition’ (including oral or written textual paradosis), or of ‘acceptance’, i.e. of a mythological tradition. Cf. sch. 48c τὸ ποίημα τὸ πεπλασμένον διαδεχθὲν ὑπὸ πολλῶν πιστῶν ἐγένετο. The latter sense has obvious relevance in the context of the present passage, especially in reference to the obligation (or not) of the poet to preserve the tradition.

7 ητικ. ν χάριν η[ι]: Mr Barrett, reading] ἢ τιμῶν χάριν ἢ [, interpreted 7–8 as ‘either to hold χάρις in honour or to prefer the truth’, which he thought likely to be a quotation from drama (now given in *TGF* II as fr. adesp. 453a). He noted, however, that such a quotation would be neither necessary nor apposite to the interpretation of Pindar’s words. In fact, τιμῶν cannot be read: the third letter is certainly kappa. WBH suggests e.g. τὰ διὰ τὴν ποι[ητικὴν] χάριν ἢ[δέα] γενόμενα τὴν[] ἀλήθειαν παρα[βιάζεται] . . . (Sim. *PMG* 598 τὸ δοκεῖν καὶ τὰν ἀλάθειαν βιάται).

9 Lemma (vv. 33–4), with δ(ε) accidentally omitted (but present in the paraphrase, see 10).

9–10 ὁ | δὲ ἐπερχόμενος[ε] χρόνος seems likely as an equivalent to (33) ἀμέραι ἐπίλοιποι.

11 ελε. [: perhaps ἐλεγχ-, which finds some support in sch. 53b ἀξιώπιστος ἔλεγχος.

12–13 ὁ χρόνος . . . τὰ λανθάνοντα . . . μόνος. Mr Barrett here identified another likely quotation from drama. The space could easily be filled, and the quotation introduced, by e.g. ὡς [φησιν *Εὐριπίδης*, although this is hardly the only possibility for author (or supplement). Kannicht prints the lines in *TGF* II as fr. adesp. 453b, suggesting in 13 after τὰ λανθάνοντα the supplement [πρὸς τὸ φῶς φέροι. However, WBH observes that the commentator may simply be paraphrasing *O.* 10.53–5 ὁ τ’ ἐξελέγχων μόνος / ἀλάθειαν ἐτήτυμον / Χρόνος: ‘For the author’s use of an illustration from later on in the book, cf. above on i 27. Here too we could have ὡς [ερεῖ] but there are other possibilities, e.g. ὡς [φησιν ὁ Πίνδαρος. Then in line 13 e.g. τὰ λανθάνοντα [πάντα ἡμῶν φανεροί (cf. sch. *O.* 10.63ab ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν (πᾶσαν) πᾶσι φανερῶν Χρόνος).’

14–15 Lemma (v. 35).

15–17 E.g. [προσῆκει δέ] | ἀνθρώπων ὄλον κα[ὶ] πᾶν λέγειν περὶ θε[ῶν] καλά.

17 Lemma (conclusion of v. 35). Then ἐλάττων is the standard scholiastic gloss on μείων; we cannot tell whether the papyrus had ἐλαττων or ἐλασσων (cf. ii 23 περιεσσου, though that is a mistake for περι σου).

18–19 E.g. τοῦ τὰ [καλὰ λέγειν· τὸ δὲ] | μεί(ω)ν ἀντὶ τοῦ κτλ. On the whole, and especially in the light of the occurrence of μείων in the lemma (v. 35), a miswriting of μείων as μειν seems more likely than e.g. an itacistic spelling ἤ|μειν or ὕ|μειν (although cf. 17 νείκη).

19 .[: Possibly the monogram abbreviation for προ(ς) (see palaeographic note), e.g. ἀντὶ τοῦ προ(ς)[φέρειν τὴν αἰτίαν, 'rather than conferring blame'. WBH suggests instead μεί(ω)ν ἀντὶ τοῦ τ[ὸ παράπαν οὐδεμία (cf. sch. 55c ἐνοι δὲ μείων ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐδὲ δλίγη ὡς Ὀμηρος (Il. 5.800)· ἢ δλίγον οἱ παῖδα εὐκότα γείνατο Τυδεύς· ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐδὲ δλίγον ἴν' ἦ, οὐδὲ δλίγη ἐστὶν αἰτία τῷ καλὰ λέγοντι περὶ θεῶν), which fits the context but requires us to assume that the final trace of 19, a dot at mid-height, should be discounted.

20 Lemma (start of v. 36). Afterwards, the monogram abbreviation for προς, followed by a possible τ[, hence: προ(ς) τ[ὸν Πέλοπα], sc. λέγει or λέγεται, 'addressed (or in reference) to Pelops'.

20–21 Lemma (remainder of v. 36).

23–5 References to 'success' (24 εὐετόχως), 'pure' (24–5 κα||θαρας, whether καθάρας or καθαράς, -άς; καθαρός is also used of the cauldron in v. 26 of the poem, which could be relevant here), and perhaps διαβ[ολή]ς (25) begin to outline a statement (possibly gnomic) about the poet's ability or attempt to remove discreditable charges or slander. ὁ κ[αυ- (23) might allude to the poet's act of innovating (in the context) in myth, but it is difficult to see what the subject, or indeed verb, should be.

24 τὴν .[: an upright and a medial cross-piece: since the cross-piece slopes upwards, more likely κ than η. WBH suggests, very tentatively, a restoration on the lines of

ὁ κ[αυδς μῦθος ἀμείνων,
εὐετόχως τὴν κ[ακηγορίαν ἐκκα-
θάρας ἐκ τῆς διαβ[ολή]ς

(construction as in Dinarchus 2.5 ἐκκαθάρατε, καθ' ὅσον δυνατόν ἐστι, τὴν δωροδοκίαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως), 'The new story (is better?), as it has successfully cleared away the abuse from the false accusation'.

25–8 Lemma (vv. 38–9).

27 The supplement is rather long for the space: abbreviation or suspension of one or more of the three words may be posited, rather than an omission of any one of them. 'The word affected will surely have been the final word of the line, δειπνα. Suspension is likeliest at the end of the line, cf. i 2, 4, etc. And this word is so treated on its next appearance, ii 33' (WBH).

28–33 The paraphrase is interspersed with explanations (29–30 εὐνομώτατον, 31–2 Σίπυλον).

28–9 E.g. ὅπότε' ἐκά[λεσεν ὁ πατήρ σου] | εἰς τὸν εὐνομώ[τατον] ἔρανον.

30 θ .[: in the context, no doubt θε[ο-], e.g. θε[οσεβέστατον] (glossing εὐνομώτατον).

31–2 So sch. 62a οἱ μὲν πόλεως ὄνομα, οἱ δὲ ὄρους περὶ τὴν Λυδίαν. For the form of the restoration, cf. sch. O. 9.88b Μαίναλον ὄρος Ἀρκαδίας καὶ πόλις.

33–5 Perhaps 'in his ὑπορχήματα Pindar represents (πα||ρίστησι) . . .', with the object being something like Tantalus or his meal. The last trace in 33 suggests ε (see palaeographic note). Thus a tantalising possibility for the reconstruction of these lines is ἐ[τέρως δὲ ἐν τοῖς] | ὑπορχήμασι τῆ[ν ἐτίσιαν ταύτην πα||ρίστησι [ὁ] Πίνδ(αρος) ('Pindar represents this entertainment differently in the *Hyporchemata*'), which, if correct, would shed new light on the content of that shadowy Pindaric genre.

† W. S. BARRETT / D. OBBINK

5202. COPY OF AN HONORIFIC INSCRIPTION FOR THE POETIC VICTOR APION

28 4B.58/J(7)

13.5 × 26 cm

Mid or second half of first century

Parts of 36 lines with upper (2.5 cm) and lower (2 cm) margins. The document is complete on the right for the first 10 lines, with no significant free margin, and on the left for lines 1–9 and 23–36, with a margin of 2 cm at its widest. It is badly mutilated in places, and much of its middle section is lacunose. The upper left corner has been assembled from three separate fragments; eight remaining scraps could not be joined. There are on average about 35 letters per line. The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank.

Preserved is a self-standing copy of an inscription listing the honours and privileges conferred on Apion, son of Posidonius, for victories in various poetic contests. Among his distinctions can be counted double victory in the competitions making up the *periodos* or circuit of the great crown-games (excluding the Olympics, which did not host musical-poetic contests); triple victory at the Heraea in Argos, the prize for which was a bronze shield; success with a tragedy in Syracuse; and victory at the Sebasta in Naples and other unspecified contests. His native city, which is not named, honours him with the standard privileges and awards accorded to victors in the great games: triumphal entrance into the city in a white four-horse chariot; meals in the prytaneum; a golden crown(?); a gilded crown said to be 'of the *periodos*'; and no doubt other awards now lost in the large lacunae following line 10. The rest of the document enumerates the honours bestowed on Apion by other bodies or cities, which become more or less continuously legible only from line 23 onward: he was granted statues and portrait tondos (*ἀσπιδεία*) by an uncertain branch of the association of Dionysiac artists and by the association of worldwide sacred victors in Rome; statues of him were apparently erected in the five agonistic centres of Actium, Olympia, Delphi, the Isthmus, and Nemea; and the Syracusans honoured him with two statues, a gold-plated shield-portrait, a golden crown worth fifty gold pieces, and residence in the Museum near the theatre, presumably in connection with the dramatic victory mentioned in 4–5.

Although none of his works survive complete, the honorand Apion is a known Alexandrian intellectual from the first half of the first century AD; see 1 n. for bibliography and further details. There were two main facets to his posthumous fame. As a Homeric scholar he was the author of an etymological lexicon entitled *γλῶσσαι Ὀμηρικαί*, for which our principal source is the lexicon of Apollonius Sophista. As a target of Josephus' *Contra Apionem* 2.1–144 (the work is not concerned only with Apion and its original title is unknown) he is notorious as an opponent of the Alexandrian Jews and an exponent of scurrilous accounts of Jewish history and customs in his *Aegyptiaca*. Josephus also states in *AJ* 18.257–9 that Apion was a member of the embassy sent to plead the case of the Alexandrian Greeks before

Gaius following the violent conflict with the city's Jews in AD 38. An account of the Jewish delegation is preserved by its head Philo in *Legatio ad Gaium* (esp. 44–6), but he mentions Apion neither in the account of the embassy nor in that of the disturbances of 38 in his *In Flaccum*; on the conflict see most recently S. Gambetti, *The Alexandrian Riots of 38 C.E. and the Persecution of the Jews: A Historical Reconstruction* (2009).

Because of the piecemeal and tendentious nature of the testimonies to his life, there are several doubtful questions surrounding Apion's biography. The present document helps to illuminate a few and adds a new dimension to our knowledge of this influential figure, revealing that he was also a widely celebrated poet in his lifetime. The identity of the *πατρὶς* honouring him is uncertain and is bound to the disputed question of Apion's ultimate origin and the localization of the rare demotic *Φιλοπατόρειος*. The city is likely to be Alexandria, which at some point granted Apion citizenship, but Ptolemais in Upper Egypt cannot be certainly excluded in the present state of the evidence (see 1 n.). Another contentious issue that **5202** settles more conclusively is the origin and meaning of the epithet *πλειτονικῆς* attached to Apion in several testimonia (see 2–3 n.). It is striking that, apart from this epithet, Apion's fame and achievements as a prize-winning poet have left hardly a trace in the literary sources in comparison with his scholarly reputation. Gellius alone hints at his literary capabilities, although not with explicit reference to poetry: 5.14.1 *litteris homo multis praeditus*, 7.8.1 *facili atque alacri facundia fuit*; these statements may well relate only to Apion's scholarly writings, which Gellius goes on to quote.

It is tempting to connect the victorious double *periodos* commemorated in the inscription to Seneca's statement that *Apion grammaticus . . . sub C. Caesare tota circumlatus est Graecia et in nomen Homeri ab omnibus civitatibus adoptatus* (*Ep.* 88.40). If so, the honorific title 'Homerus' presumably granted to him by Greek cities probably rested on his performances as a poet rather than on his Homeric scholarship as is usually assumed, and the inscription can be dated to the reign of Gaius (37–41) or shortly thereafter. However, in view of Seneca's qualification of Apion as *grammaticus* and the fact that the epithet 'Homerus' was also bestowed on scholars (cf. e.g. the roughly contemporary Alexandrian grammarian Seleucus, *FGrHist* 341), some caution is advisable in correlating the two testimonia. For some poets of the Imperial period honoured with the name of Homer, see E. L. Bowie in S. Walker, A. Cameron (edd.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (*BICS* 55; 1989) 202–3. Another potential link with the reign of Gaius is the possible coincidence of Apion's dramatic victory in Syracuse with the *ludi astici* celebrated there by the emperor, probably in the summer of 38 (see 4–5 n.). Such a concentration of successes in the reign of Gaius might help explain why Apion was chosen to represent the Alexandrian Greeks before this emperor in 39.

The document supplies several additional details of interest: one of the earliest instances of the title *περιοδικῆς* (2–3 n.); the earliest attestation of the association of worldwide sacred victors at Rome (26–7 n.); the implication of a dramatic

contest in early Imperial Syracuse; and the second occurrence of the shadowy Museum of the latter city, with an indication that it was used to house distinguished poets and performers (36 n.).

Self-standing copies or drafts of inscriptions on papyrus are rather rare. P. Lond. I 137 (2) verso preserves a copy of a letter of Marcus Antonius to the *κοινὸν Ἀκλαῖα* concerning the privileges of the association of worldwide sacred victors, which is written on the back of a medical text of the first century AD; see J. Ebert, *APF* 33 (1987) 37–42, and most recently A. Ricciardetto, *APF* 58 (2012) 43–60 (arguing for a connection with the medical text on the front), and cf. I. Tralleis 105 (II/III) for a later copy on stone. P. Hamb. I 22 = *Suppl. Mag.* 60 (Panopolis; IV) is a draft of a Christian funerary inscription in hexameters. The fragmentary P. Meyer 27 (Ars. ?; II/III) has been interpreted by its editor as a copy of several short funerary inscriptions, although this is far from certain. XLI 2950 = ChLA XLVII 1414 (after 285) is possibly a stonecutter's model of a dedication in Latin to Diocletian and Maximian by one or more military units, but the papyrus itself may have been intended for display; cf. also LXVIII 4671 (v ?). III 473 = W. *Chr.* 33 (138–60) preserves a decree by the archons, *demos*, and Roman and Alexandrian residents of Naucratis (?) (see BL VIII 235) in honour of a gymnasiarch, which must also have existed in epigraphic form. I. Prose 52.31–2 (Busiris; 22/3) stipulates that a copy of the honorific decree be given to the honorand with the subscription of 'as many people as possible'.

That **5202** is a copy rather than a draft can be inferred from the visual copying errors in 2–3 (*περιεδονείκην*, I. *περιοδικῆς*), 4 (*ἐν Ἀργεῖα ἀπίδα*), and probably 26–7 *εἰερον[εῖ]καὶ* (*καί*); see 2–3 n. (end). The scribe uses a line filler at the end of 4, abbreviates a word by one letter at the end of 6, and doubles the width of nu at the end of 8; these features suggest that the copyist was attempting to maintain the line divisions of the original inscription. We can only imagine why a copy of this stone, which was presumably set up solely in Apion's *πατρὶς* (Alexandria or, less likely, Ptolemais), ended up in Oxyrhynchus, since there is no contextual information to guide us. The hand of the papyrus can be placed securely in the middle or second half of the first century; cf. e.g. PSI X 1176 (mid first century, prior to 59/60; Tav. III) = *Scrivere libri* no. 9, and P. Warr. 8 (86; Plate II, partially reproduced in P. W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* (1994) 117). The copy therefore must have been made not too long after the publication of the inscription. It is worth mentioning that Apion's scholarly work on Alcaeus and Simonides was known in Oxyrhynchus, in the case of the former poet as early as the first century; see the marginalia of XXI 2295 = *CLGP* I 1.1 Alcaeus 7 = McNamee, *Annotations* no. 63 (first century), XXII 2327 = McNamee, *Annotations* no. 1459.1 (second century), LIX 3965 = McNamee, *Annotations* no. 1459.11 (second century).

Abbreviations for epigraphic corpora generally follow *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (but note I. Olympia = W. Dittenberger, K. Purgold (edd.), *Die Inschriften von Olympia* (1896)).

Ἀπ[ί]ωνα Προς[ειδωνί]ο Φιλοπατόρειον γραμμα-
 τι[κ]ῶ[ν] καὶ φ[ι]λ[ο]σο[φ]ῶ[ν] . . . [. . .] καὶ προήμασι δις περιεδο-
 νεύειν πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων καὶ τρίς καθελόντα
 τὴν ἐν Ἀργεῖ[α] ἀσπίδα καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις —
 5 στεφανωθ[έ]ντα τρ[αγ]ωδῖαι καὶ ἐπὶ Σεβαστὸν
 παραχρ[ε]νόμε[νο]ν ἀγῶνα καὶ ἄλλ[ο]υς πολλοὺς λαβόντ[α]
 στεφάν[ου]ς κ[αὶ] πρῶτον ποιητῶν εἰσελάσαντα
 ἐπὶ λευκῶ ἄρματι τεθρίππωι ἐτείμησεν
 ἢ πατρὶς κειτῆσει τῇ ἐν πρυτανείῳ καὶ χρυσῶι
 10 [. . .] . . . φ καὶ χρυσωτῶ τῆς περιόδου [σ]τεφάνωι
 [α.10] . . . θ . . . ιω τῶν Μουσῶν στεφάνωι
 [α.10] . . . [. . .] καὶ πορφύρ[η] . . . [. . .] . . . χρυσε[ῖ]
 [α.10] . . . ἐπικ[ρο]ν . . . ἠθ[η] . . . ν καὶ ἀνακρηρ[υ]
 [α.10] . . . ξος καὶ ἀριστ[ο] . . . [. . .] α . . . εἰχ. καὶ αν[θ]
 15 [α.13] . . . [. . .] . . . τῶ σταδίῳ τοῦ [. . .]
 [α.15] . . . ν μ[ε] . . . [. . .] ων ρα[φ]
 [α.16] . . . υκα κα[ὶ] . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .]
 [α.11] κ[αὶ] ἀνδριάντι ἐν . . . ξ . . . [. . .]
 [α.12] . . . νιον Μηνοδώρου αν[θ] . . . [. . .]
 20 [α.9] ἐν τῶ γυμ[ν]ασίῳ καὶ . . . [. . .]
 [α.12] . . . ρε . . . κα[ὶ] . . . [. . .] . . . η . . . [. . .]
 . . . [α.12] . . . δ . . . [. . .] ἀνδριά[ν]τι κα[ὶ] ἀσπι-
 δεῖ[ω] φ[ι]λ[ο]σο[φ]ῶ[ν] . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] ἐν . . . [. . .] οἱ περὶ τῶ[ν]
 Διόνυσ[ου] καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους [θε]οὺς τεχνεῖτ[αι]
 25 ἀνδριά[ν]τι καὶ ἀσπιδεῖ[ω] ἐν τῶ Δ[ι]όνυσ[ου] εἰς
 ἐν Ρώμ[ῃ] οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκ[ου]μένης εἰερον[εῖ]-
 και <καὶ> οἱ τοῦ[των] ἐπι[σ]τάται[ι] ἀνδριάντ[ι] καὶ ἀ[σπιδεῖ]-
 δεῖω πε[ρὶ] χρυσῶ οπ[η] . . . [. . .] . . . πα . . . [. . .]
 . . . εἴται τη[ρ]ει ησε . . . [. . .] . . . ἐπι . . . ν[. . .]
 30 μένων Ἀπίωνος ἀνδ[ριάν]των ἐν Ἀκτίω[ι] καὶ
 ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἐν Πυθῶι κα[ὶ] ἐν [Τ]εθμῶι κ[αὶ]
 ἐν Νεμέᾳ, να. Συρακόσιοι ἀνδριάντι δημοσί[ωι]
 κ[αὶ] ἑτέρωι ἀνδριάντι, ὃν συν[ε]νέγκας κατ' ἀ[ν]-
 ὄρα ἐποίησεν ὁ δῆμος, καὶ ἀσπίδι περιχρῦ[σ]ω
 35 καὶ στεφάνω χρυσῶ πεντήκοντα χρυσῶν, [καὶ]
 τὸ Μουσεῖον ὄλον εἰς οἰκησιν ἐδωρήσαν[το].

1 first μ of γραμμα corr.? 2-3 l. περιδοῦνικην 6 λαβόντ 8 l. ἐτείμησεν
 9 l. στήσει 24 l. τεχνίται 26-7 l. ἱερονίκα 27 l. ἀσπι- 31 l. Πυθοῖ

Apion, son of Posidonius, of the Philopatoreian deme, grammarian and . . . , who was the first of men to be twice victor in verse in the Circuit (*periodos*), and thrice won the shield in Argos, and was crowned for a tragedy in Syracuse and upon going to the august contest, and took many other crowns, and was the first of poets to have entered in triumphal procession in a white four-horse chariot—him his native city honoured with public maintenance in the prytaneum and a golden crown(?) and a gilded crown of the Circuit (*periodos*) . . . with a crown of the Muses . . . purple . . . golden . . . announce . . . best . . . in the stadium . . . and with a statue in . . . Menodorus . . . in the gymnasium . . . with a statue and a portrait tondo . . . the artists devoted to Dionysus and the other gods (honoured him) with a statue and a portrait tondo in the Dionyseum; in Rome the sacred victors from the inhabited world and their trainers(?) (honoured him) with a statue and a gold-plated portrait tondo . . . statues of Apion . . . ed in Actium, Olympia, Pytho, the Isthmus, and Nemea; the Syracusans (honoured him) with a public statue and another statue which the people made through individual contributions, and with a gold-plated shield, and with a golden crown (worth) fifty gold pieces, and they presented him with the whole Museum to reside in.

1 Ἀπ[ί]ωνα. The reading is confirmed by 30 Ἀπίωνος. On Apion, see generally A. G. Sperling, *Apion der Grammatiker und sein Verhältnis zum Judentum* (1886); A. von Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften* iv (1893) 356-71; L. Cohn, *REI* (1894) 2803-6; E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.—A.D. 135)* vol. iii.1, rev. and ed. by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman (1986) 604-7; P. W. van der Horst in id., *Japheth in the Tents of Shem: Studies on Jewish Hellenism in Antiquity* (2002) 207-21; J. Dillery, 'Putting Him Back Together Again: Apion Historian, Apion *grammatikos*', *CP* 98 (2003) 383-90; K. R. Jones, 'The Figure of Apion in Josephus' *Contra Apionem*', *JStJ* 36 (2005) 278-315; J. M. Bremmer, 'Foolish Egyptians: Apion and Anoubion in the Pseudo-Clementines', in A. Hillhorst, G. H. van Kooten (edd.), *The Wisdom of Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuisen* (2005) 311-29, esp. 317-27; J. M. G. Barclay, *Flavius Josephus, Translation and Commentary*, x: *Against Apion* (2006) 170-71 n. 7; C. Damon, "The Mind of an Ass and the Impudence of a Dog": a Scholar Gone Bad', in I. Sluiter, R. M. Rosen (edd.), *Kakos: Badness and Anti-Value in Classical Antiquity* (2008) 335-64. These works are cited below by the author's surname only.

On Apion's Homeric scholarship, see the bibliography assembled by E. Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship* (2007) 25-6. Most of the non-Homeric fragments are collected in *FGHist* 616. Besides the Homeric lexicon and the *Aegyptiaca* in five books, Apion was also the author of works 'On the luxuriousness of Apicius' (*περὶ τῆς Ἀπικίου τρυφῆς*), 'On the Latin language' (*περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς διαλέκτου*), 'On the mage' (*περὶ μάγου*), 'On letters' (*περὶ στοιχείων*), and of commentaries on Alcaeus, Simonides, and possibly Aristophanes (see introd. and cf. Σ Ar. *Pax* 778). It is unclear whether some of the accounts of natural wonders that served as a source to Pliny the Elder (cf. *FGHist* 616 T 16) belonged to a separate work(s) or to the *Aegyptiaca*. The *ἱστορία κατ' ἔθνος* ascribed to him by the *Suda* (a 3215) is perhaps due to confusion with the ethnographically structured history of Appian; cf. von Gutschmid 368. In *ZPE* 186 (2013) 114-18, I suggest that the name of Apion probably lurks behind 'Hermapion' in Ammianus Marcellinus 17.4.17, whom the historian cites as a source for the Greek translation of the hieroglyphic text on the obelisk in the *Circus Maximus* (brought by Augustus to Rome in 10 BC).

Apion's long career coincided with the reigns of Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius; he was probably born in the last decades of the first century BC and died around the middle of the first century AD. His *Suda* entry, which contains a number of problematic statements, says that he taught at Rome under Tiberius and Claudius and was 'the successor of Theon the grammarian' in Alexandria,

a scholar active in the Augustan period. His work was well known in the first two centuries to judge from the references to him by various Greek and Roman authors (*FGH Hist* 616 T); Tiberius dubbed him *cymbalum mundi* (Plin. *NH* pr. 25) and Gellius attests that *eius libri non incelebres feruntur* (5.14.2). Both in his account of Homeric etymologies and in writing about the *mirabilia* of Egypt, he seems to have had a penchant for provocatively ingenious and eccentric explanations, although this impression is no doubt biased by the selection of the authors quoting him. His self-importance and self-advertisement were notorious (Plin. *NH* pr. 25, Jos. *Ap.* 2.135, Gell. 5.14.3), but he was also admired for his erudition and eloquence (Tatian. *ad Graecos* 38, Gell. 5.14.1, 6.8.4, Afric. *Chronographiae* F34.80 Wallraff). Following Josephus' forceful attacks, Apion has traditionally been presented as one of the most virulent anti-Jewish writers of the ancient world; but there has been a revisionist tendency of late to emphasize Josephus' rhetorical strategies and partialities and to downplay the centrality of Jews to Apion's work; see E. S. Gruen, 'Greeks and Jews: Mutual Misperceptions in Josephus' *Contra Apionem*', in C. Bakhos (ed.), *Ancient Judaism in its Hellenistic Context* (2004) 31–51, and the works of Barclay and Jones cited above and below, §8.

Πατρ[ειδωνίου]ν. The father's name is given by Iulius Africanus, *Chronographiae* F34.80 Wallraff. As has long been recognized (e.g. Sperling v–vi), the *Suda*'s report (a 3215) that Apion's father was named Πλειστονίκη is due to confusion with his own honorific title (on which see below, 2–3 n.).

Φιλοπατόρειον. The demotic presumably honours Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–203 BC), less plausibly Berenice III Philopator (81–80 BC), Cleopatra VII Philopator (51–30 BC), or her brother Ptolemy XIII Theos Philopator (51–47 BC); from Alexandria, compare Φιλομητόρειος. This demotic has hitherto occurred complete only in SB VIII 10181.3–4 = SEG XX 699 (35), an inscription recording the rebuilding of an unspecified edifice by a certain Ὀρνυμίων Ἀρτεμιδώρου Φιλοπατόρειος. The stone was acquired on the antiquities market and is of unknown provenance, but has been presumed to come from Alexandria by its first editor, J. Schwartz, *RA* (1962) i 89–90, followed by P. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (1972) i 46, ii 124 n. 73. It cannot be *prima facie* excluded, however, that both inscription and demotic relate to one of the other two Greek cities of Egypt, viz. Naucratis or Ptolemais; see further below. The same demotic probably also occurs in P. Flor. I 24.30 (Ars.; mid III; see BL III 55) [a. ?] | τοῦ καὶ Φιλοπατ(), preceded no doubt by a tribal name (see the note ad loc. and cf. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii 124 n. 73, *WB* III Absch. 16 s.v.), but the origin of its bearer is unknown; he is assumed to be Alexandrian by C. E. Visser, *Götter und Kulte im ptolemäischen Alexandrien* (1938) 108, 128, but without any justification. Finally, in a Ptolemaic inscription from Naucratis, OGIS I 120 = I. Delta I 751 no. 15 (181–146 BC?), the city honours a priest of Athena named Ἡλιόδωρον Δωρίωνος φιλο[(2). Dittenberger took the last word to be a demotic and restored Φιλο[μητόρειον], which is a well-known deme of Alexandria, but also raised the possibility of restoring Φιλο[πατόρειον] (then unknown) in his note ad loc.; cf. also P. Jouguet, *La Vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine* (1911) 126–7, and Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii 124 n. 75. For the sake of completeness, I note that Schubart reported a demotic Φιλάπρηος ('Lesung fast sicher') in his description of BGU IV 1178 (Alex.; 30 BC–14 AD), which Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii 124 n. 73, speculated could be a corruption of Φιλοπατόρειος. The reading, however, has been questioned on the basis of a photograph by D. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate* (1991) 62 = BL X 20, who believes only φιλα to be secure ('and it is by no means certain that this was a demotic rather than a name').

In a polemical passage criticizing Apion for claiming that Jews were Egyptians by descent, Josephus counters that Apion lied about his own origin and was in fact himself an Egyptian born ἐν Ὀάσει τῆς Αἰγύπτου (*Ap.* 2.29) and ἐν τῷ βαθυτάτῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου (*Ap.* 2.41) who only subsequently obtained Alexandrian citizenship; this is a recurrent theme in Josephus' denunciation of Apion: cf. *Ap.* 2.28, 30, 32, 34, 49, 65–7, 69–70, 81, 85, 122, 125–6, 128–9, 132–3, 135, 137–44. The *Suda* (a 3215) says that he was Αἰγύπτιος, κατὰ δὲ Ἑλικώνιον Κρής; the latter origin is surely figurative and due to the 'tall tales' in the *Aegyptiaca*, perhaps imputed to him by one of his detractors and misunderstood by the

chronicler Heliconius in late antiquity or the compiler of the *Suda*; cf. von Gutschmid 357 and Damon 347–55. An Egyptian origin is also assigned to Apion by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 1.21.101.3 ἄτε Αἰγύπτιος τὸ γένος), probably on the basis of Josephus; cf. also Plin. *NH* 30.99: Apion's explanation for the Egyptian cult of scarabs is *ad excusandos gentis suae ritus*.

Other writers refer to Apion simply as an Alexandrian (Athen. 1.29 ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς; Hieron. *De vir. illust.* 13 *grammaticum Alexandrinum*; Ps.-Clem. *Homil.* 4.6.2 ἄνδρα Ἀλεξανδρέα, in contrast to Anubion who is explicitly said to be Αἰγύπτιος in 14.11.2) or more vaguely as a Greek (Gell. 7.8.1 *Graecus homo*). In his own writings, Apion certainly did not present himself as an Egyptian (cf. e.g. *FGH Hist* 616 F 1 = Jos. *Ap.* 2.10 ὡς ἤκουσα παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων) and even by Josephus' admission writes from an unambiguous Hellenic point of view; cf. e.g. Jos. *Ap.* 2.30 οὐκ (sc. ὁ Ἀπίων) μισεὶ καὶ βούλεται λοιδορεῖν τούτους Αἰγυπτίους καλεῖ, 135 (showing that Apion 'identified himself with the Greek intellectual tradition', Barclay ad loc., n. 491), 137 (Apion is said to have mocked the Jewish practice of circumcision, which was also an Egyptian one).

Josephus' claims concerning Apion's origins have been almost unanimously accepted by modern scholars, despite the rhetorical context, the vague ἐν Ὀάσει (which of Egypt's many oases?), Josephus' silence in *AJ* 18.257 (where Apion is subsumed under the Greek Alexandrian camp without further comment), and the institutional obstacles barring 'Egyptians' from Alexandrian citizenship; on the last point, cf. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship* 55–6, citing as examples only Apion and the younger Pliny's masseur Harpocras, who required special imperial intervention (see Plin. *Ep.* 10.5–7, 10 with Delia 41–5). An exception was H. Willrich, *Juden und Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung* (1895) 172–6 ('War Apion Ägypter?'), who maintained that Apion was in fact an Alexandrian by birth and Josephus' claims fallacious and part of the character assassination of his target. His inadequate arguments were criticized and modified by I. Lévy, 'Apion était-il Alexandrin?', *REJ* 41 (1900) 188–95 (to which Barclay 184–5 n. 104 is sympathetic), who proposed that Apion, though indeed not a native Alexandrian, was nevertheless of 'proper' Greek origin (without defining too clearly what he meant by this) and was later granted Alexandrian citizenship. Josephus, then, taking his cue from Apion's theophoric name based on the sacred Apis bull (a 'nom grec d'Égypte'), his scholarly interest in things Egyptian, and his non-Alexandrian origin, went a step further by branding him an 'Egyptian' from the remotest corner of the country. On Josephus' rhetorical strategy of mounting a sustained attack on Apion's alleged Egyptian ethnicity for the purpose of discrediting his *ethos*, see J. M. G. Barclay, 'Josephus v. Apion: Analysis of an Argument', in S. Mason (ed.), *Understanding Josephus* (1998) 202–3, and Jones 291–302; cf. more generally J. M. G. Barclay, 'The Politics of Contempt: Judaeans and Egyptians in Josephus' *Against Apion*', in id. (ed.), *Negotiating Diaspora* (2004) 109–27.

Since Apion was, or became at some point, an Alexandrian, it would be reasonable to infer that the city honouring him in 5202 is Alexandria and that Φιλοπατόρειος is a demotic of this city, as Schwartz and Fraser assumed in the case of SEG XX 699. If one accepts Josephus' claim that Apion was originally an Egyptian, in the juridical sense of a peregrine from the Egyptian *chora* excluding Alexandria, Naucratis, and Ptolemais, the extraordinary grant of Alexandrian citizenship could be ascribed to his extraordinary talents and successes. Dr Sofie Remijsen points out that the number of athletes from Alexandria in the Olympic victory lists is disproportionately large, and one might therefore need to hypothesize that some of these victors were drawn from the *chora* because of their abilities and granted Alexandrian citizenship (see pp. 193–4). It also appears that the Hellenic elites of the Egyptian *metropoleis* were capable of obtaining Alexandrian citizenship under certain circumstances, although 'it is often very difficult, if not impossible, to tell whether families with Alexandrian citizenship and offices and with large estates in a nome were in origin Alexandrians who were drawn to the *metropolis* by their estates or metropolitans who had acquired Alexandrian citizenship' (A. K. Bowman, D. Rathbone, *JRS* 82 (1992) 116, 127 n. 107; cf. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship* 32, 56). There are very few clear instances of Alexandrians of metropolitane origin from the first century, but in I. Portes 32 (first

half of first century?) a man named Tullius Ptolemaeus, who held several Alexandrian magistracies and was a member of the Alexandrian Museum, is honoured by his *πατρὶς*, which is presumably Tentyris (Denderah), the findspot of the stone (the *πατρὶς* in 5202, incidentally, cannot be an Egyptian *metropolis* like Tentyris since it possesses a *πρυτανεῖον* (9); it must be a Greek *polis*).

Purely by way of hypothesis, and given the presently uncertain localization of the demotic *Φιλοπατορείος*, it is worth considering whether the *πατρὶς* honouring Apion could be Naucratis or Ptolemais rather than Alexandria. Such a possibility would imply that Apion was originally a citizen of another Greek city of Egypt prior to becoming an Alexandrian, in line with Lévy's suggestion above. It would both acknowledge a kernel of truth in Josephus' insistence that Apion was originally non-Alexandrian and avoid the difficulties entailed by the scenario of an Egyptian becoming an Alexandrian. Although I. Delta I 751 no. 15 suggests that there may have been a demotic beginning in *Φίλο[]* in Naucratis (see above), there are several considerations that would weigh in favour of Ptolemais. First, apart from the inscription just mentioned (which does not certainly refer to a demotic), there is no evidence that Naucratis was actually organized into demes, although one must concede that the city is very poorly documented in the Graeco-Roman period; cf. Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 13, 51–2. Revealingly, SEG XLVII 2123 (III BC) preserves a list of persons from Naucratis, probably city councillors, arranged under the heading of tribes only, in contrast to similar lists from e.g. Athens, in which councillors are organized into both tribes and demes; see R. Scholl, *Tyche* 12 (1997) 213–28. Scholl 221, 223, still maintains that Naucratis probably had demes, but on the insufficient testimony of W. Chr. 27.21–3 (after 161), which states that Antinoopolis (a city in possession of both tribes and demes) modelled its laws on those of Naucratis: such laws, however, need not have encompassed every aspect of the organization of the city. Second, Ptolemy IV Philopator inaugurated an important eponymous priesthood of Ptolemy Soter and the θεοὶ *Φιλοπάτορες* in Ptolemais, which regularly appears in dating clauses of documents from the Thebaid; see G. Plaumann, *Ptolemais in Oberägypten* (1910) 42–51. This city therefore would have been a natural venue for a deme honouring this king; for other dynastic demotics in Ptolemais, cf. *Βερενικεύς*, *Κλεοπάτριος*, *Φιλωτέρειος*, and probably *Ἀρσινόεως*, on which see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i 46, ii 125 n. 76, and Plaumann, *Ptolemais* 22–24. Third, an origin in Ptolemais would be perhaps more consistent with Josephus' claims that Apion was born ἐν Ὀάσει τῆς Αἰγύπτου (Αβ. 2.29) and ἐν τῷ βαθυτάτῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου (Αβ. 2.41): although a Greek *polis* in constitution and privileges, a city so far south in Upper Egypt—and incidentally almost on the same latitude as the Great Oasis—could more easily be misrepresented (or misunderstood) as 'Egyptian' than the historically better known Naucratis near Alexandria and the Mediterranean. Ptolemais was still a significant city in the early Roman period. It is described as the largest city of the Thebaid by Strabo 17.1.42, 'not smaller than Memphis' (itself the largest city after Alexandria according to id. 17.1.32). It had an active cultural life in the early Ptolemaic period and was home to a theatre and an association of Dionysiac artists that included tragic, comic, and epic poets; see Plaumann, *Ptolemais* 59–65, and cf. below, 25 n. For *sitesis* in the prytaneum (9) granted by Ptolemais in an earlier period, cf. OGIS I 49.12–13 = I. Prose 7 (246–221 BC).

Even as a hypothesis, however, the identification of Apion's *πατρὶς* in 5202 with Ptolemais seems to me problematic. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i 46, noted that 'the regularity with which [dynastic] demotics follow one another in Alexandria suggests that a new deme may have been created in honour of, or possibly in memory of, each sovereign from Philadelphus onwards' (*Φιλαδέλφειος*, *Ἐυεργέσιος*, *Ἐπιφάνειος*, *Φιλομητόρειος*); and that 'the absence of masculine names' among the attested dynastic demotics of Ptolemais (see above) 'suggests a possible distinction deliberately drawn between the two cities over a long period'. In view of these observations, I am still inclined to suppose that *Φιλοπατορείος* is an Alexandrian demotic and that the city honouring Apion in 5202 is Alexandria, irrespective of his origin. Ultimately, only further evidence and an unequivocal attestation of the deme with one or the other city can settle the matter conclusively.

1–2 γραμματι[κ]ῶν καὶ φ[. . .]. Apion is routinely described as a *γραμματικός* in the literary sources: Sen. *Ep.* 88.40; Plin. *NH* pr. 25, 1.35c, 35.88 (cf. 30.18); Jos. *Ap.* 2.2, 12, 14, 15, 109; Tatian. *ad Graecos* 38; Athen. 7.44; Clem. *Al. Strom.* 1.21.101.3; Ps.-Clém. *Homil.* 4.6.2; Afric. *Chronographiae* F34.80 Wallraff; Hieron. *De vir. illust.* 13; Cosmas Indicopleustes 12.4; *Suda* α 3215, π 752; Exc. Lat. Barbari f. 38a 14 = *FGHHist* 616 F 3.

The second designation of Apion is unclear, but the initial φ at least is virtually certain. I have considered restoring φ[ιλό]λο[γ]ον, which would fit the space and traces reasonably well; but Dr Lucia Prauscello has kindly pointed out, after an extensive search of the online databases of literary and documentary texts, that the *unctura* of *γραμματικός* and *φιλόλογος* is hardly attested; cf. R. A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (1988) 453–4. For their disjunctive use, cf. esp. Seneca *Ep.* 108.30 *cum Ciceronis librum de re publica prendit hinc philologus aliquis, hinc grammaticus, hinc philosophia dedit, alius alio curam suam mittit, 35 sed ne et ipse . . . in philologum aut grammaticum delabar*. For their association, cf. I. Priene 112.74 (after 84 BC) τοῖς ἐκ φιλολογίας γραμματικόν, Suet. *De gramm. et rhet.* 10.2 (quoting Asinius Pollio) Ateius (1 BC) praetextatis nobis grammaticus Latinus, declamantium deinde auditor atque praeceptor, ad summam Philologus ab semet nominatus; cf. id. 10.4: Ateius took on the title of *philologus* because, like Eratosthenes, *multiplici variaeque doctrina censebatur*, a judgment similar to that of Gell. 5.14.1 on Apion, *rerumque Graecarum plurima atque varia scientia fuit*. On the meanings and uses of the term *φιλόλογος*, see further H. Kuch, *ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΟΣ* (1965), and A. Dihle in M. Baumbach et al. (edd.), *Mousopolos stephanos* (1998) 86–93. On the epigraphic attestations of *γραμματικοί* and *φιλόλογοι* in the Hellenistic period, see recently L. Del Corso in P. Fioretti (ed.), *Storie di cultura scritta: Studi per Francesco Magistrale* (2012) 311–24. For *γραμματικοί* (but mostly as teachers rather than scholars) in inscriptions of the Imperial period, see S. Augusta-Boulatot, *MEFRA* 106 (1994) 653–746.

The restoration of φ[ιλό]λο[γ]ον is also theoretically possible if the title was meant in the looser sense of 'learned man', as it was applied for instance to members of the Alexandrian Museum (see Dihle, loc. cit. 87–8). Dr Prauscello proposes restoring *φιλόμουσον*, which is attractive but might be too long for the available space. *φιλοκαίσαρα* (on which see D. Summa, *ZPE* 184 (2013) 178) would certainly be too long. Other possibilities, suggested by Dr W. B. Henry, include *φιλόδοξον* and *φιλόπατρων*.

2–3 προήμασι δις περιεδομένην (1. *περιοδικήν*) πρώτον ἀνθρώπων. Although the use of the term *περίοδος* to describe a cycle of the 'big four' crown-games dates to the Hellenistic period, the adjective *περιοδική* comes into existence only in the Imperial period. The earliest instances are SEG XVII 381 D(c).7 (c.40–60), IG XII 4.2 945.1 (41–54), and Philo, *De virtutibus* 193 (before c.50). There is some disagreement over whether the *περίοδος* in the Imperial period includes the Actia (from 27 BC), Sebasta (from AD 2), and Capitolea (from AD 86), and whether the title *περιοδικῆς* implies victories at all the relevant games in one and the same cycle; for a judicious recent treatment of these questions and further bibliography, see P. Gouw, *Griekse atleten in de Romeinse Keizertijd: 31 v. Chr. – 400 n. Chr.* (2009) 137–47, who argues that the *περίοδος* still encompasses only the four traditional contests in the early Imperial period. The Olympic games must be subtracted from the *περίοδος* in the case of poets and musicians, since musical-poetic contests did not form part of this festival, except when Nero introduced them 'against custom' in his agonistic tour of Greece in 66/7 (Suet. *Nero* 23.1 *Olympiae quoque praeter consuetudinem musicum agona commisit*; cf. also Philostr. *VA* 4.24, 5.7–8, *Nero* p. 637). In IG XII 4.2 521 (II BC), an *auletes* is said to have won crowns at Delphi, Nemea, and the Isthmus, but ἀσπίδα . . . ἐξ Ἀργεῶν ἀντὶ Διὸς κοτίνων (8), i.e. the shield-prize at the Argive Heraea as a substitute for an olive wreath at Olympia, evidently because there were no auletic contests in the latter. This example and SEG XXIX 340 (late 1?; see SEG XLI 270, 1750) have suggested to some that the Heraea were included in the *περίοδος* of musicians and poets in place of the Olympics; cf. e.g. I. E. Stephanis, *Ἑλληνικά* 39 (1988) 278–9; J.-Y. Strasser, *Historia* 55 (2006) 315. The fact that the Heraea in 5202 are mentioned separately is not necessarily evidence against this view, since Apion won the Shield three

times but the rest of the *περίοδος* only twice. For other poets who were *περιοδονίκαί*, cf. F. Delphes III.1 89 (ii), I. Eph. V 1149.5–10 (ii/iii), IG XII 3 1117 (Melos; undated).

Apion is dubbed *πλειστονίκης* by several authors: Plin. *NH* 1.36c, 37.75; Gell. 5.14.1, 7.8.1; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.101.3; Ps.-Clem. *Homil.* 4.6.2; Ach. Tat. *Intr. Arat.* 1 p. 30.14 Maass; cf. *Suda* α 3215. He himself advertised the sobriquet in a graffito left on the Colossus of Memnon, I. Col. Memnon 71: *Ἀπίων πλειστονίκης ἤκουσα τρίς*. The title means ‘victor in many contests’ (cf. e.g. Pap. Agon. index D s.v.), but it has been a puzzle up to now how and why a grammarian acquired such an epithet. Against the usual understanding of the word and the evidence of the graffito, H. Jacobson, *AJP* 98 (1977) 413–15, argued that the adjective derived from *νεῖκος* and was a pejorative pun on *πλειστονίκης* meaning ‘supremely quarrelsome’, presumably coined by one of Apion’s detractors for his alleged polemical style; he has recently been followed by Damon 341 and Barclay ad Jos. *Ap.* 2.2 n. 7; *contra*, L. Holford-Strevens, *Aulus Gellius* (2003) 69, Bremmer 319–20, both of whom also show that there are no legitimate grounds for doubting the identification of Apion in I. Col. Memnon 71 with the famous scholar. 5202 confirms that *πλειστονίκης* has its usual sense and reveals its origin in Apion’s numerous victories in poetry contests. Although the title appears to denote a rank inferior to that of *περιοδονίκα* among athletes (see Gouw, *Griekse atleten* 127–9), poets and musicians can bear both epithets concurrently; cf. IG XII 4.2 945.1 (41–54), I. Pessinous 19.6–7 (150–200 or later), and I. Eph. V 1149.9–10 (ii/iii), the first two of a citharode, the third of a poet.

περιεδονείκην (I. *περιοδονίκα*). The visual confusion of ε and ο shows that the text is a copy rather than an autograph draft; cf. also the dittography in 4 *Ἀργεῖα* ἀσπίδα and the haplography in 26–7 *εἰερον[εῖ]καί* (καί). Assuming 5202 is a direct copy of the inscription rather than a secondary copy via an intermediate manuscript, the implication would be that the stone was inscribed in lunate rather than square letters; cf. M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* i (1967) 377.

3 *πρώτον ἀνθρώπων*. When Josephus *Ap.* 2.29 states that Apion was born in the ‘Oasis’, he adds *πάντων Αἰγυπτίων πρώτος ὢν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις*. ‘What exactly Josephus means by “first of all Egyptians” is unclear’, notes Jones 292 n. 65; cf. also Barclay ad loc. Is Josephus (who may well have seen this inscription when he visited Alexandria) perhaps parodying the honorific language routinely applied to victors like Apion? On the common claim of being *πρώτος* by athletes of the Imperial period, see Gouw, *Griekse atleten* 102–10.

3–4 *καὶ τρίς καθελόντα τὴν ἐν Ἀργεῖα ἀσπίδα*. For *καθαίρω* in the sense of ‘win as a prize’, see LSJ s.v. iv. A bronze shield was the traditional prize at the Heraea in Argos, so that the festival became commonly referred to as *ἡ εἰς Ἀργεῖα ἀσπίς* in inscriptions of the Imperial period from the second half of the first century AD onward. On the festival and its epigraphic attestations, see P. Amandry, *BCH* Suppl. 6 (1980) 211–53, especially 233 n. 54 for the artistic contests held there in the Imperial period; cf. also id., *BCH* 107 (1983) 627–34, and L. Moretti, *MGR* 16 (1991) 179–89. The phrase *ἡ ἐν Ἀργεῖα ἀσπίς* does not appear to have exact parallels. Amandry, *BCH* Suppl. 6 (1980) 231 n. 46, cites IAG 79.20–21 (Rome; c. 200) *τὴν ἀσπίδα Ἡραε εἰς Ἀργεῖα*, among the rare variant appellations of the games, but in the republication of the inscription in IGUR I 240 Moretti does not adopt this reconstruction and states ad loc. that it ‘vehementer . . . et spatiosae litterarum vestigiis repugnat’. From the third century BC to about the middle of the first century AD, the festival was known as *τὰ Ἡραία τὰ ἐν Ἀργεῖα*. The phrase here stands somewhat halfway between the older and later expressions, and it appears to be the earliest identification of the games by their emblematic prize in a prose inscription.

4–5 *καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις τετραγωνῆ[ντα] τετραγώνια*. Syracuse was home to one of the largest theatres in the Greek world, with a diameter of 138 m, built (or rebuilt) by Hieron II between 238 and 215 BC; see C. Anti, L. Polacco, *Il teatro antico di Siracusa* i–ii (1981, 1990); R. J. A. Wilson, *Sicily under the Roman Empire* (1990) 60–63; L. Todisco, *Teatro e spettacolo in Magna Grecia e in Sicilia* (2002) 184–8; G. Tosi, *Gli edifici per spettacoli nell’Italia romana* (2003) 618–21. It would have been a natural venue for a dramatic contest, but evidence for one in the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods has been

scarce. A very fragmentary and undated inscription found in the Neapolis of Syracuse appears to record victors at a musical festival, including a [διδά]καλος, a [καλλι]κτής(?), and more doubtfully a [κιθαρι]στής(?) (SEG XLIX 1330). The *ludi astici* celebrated by Gaius in Syracuse in the summer of 38 (Suet. *Cal.* 20 *edidit et peregre spectacula, in Sicilia Syracusis asticos ludos*; on the date see D. H. Hurley, D. Wardle, or G. Guastella ad loc.) probably had a strong or even exclusive dramatic component if they were analogous to the Athenian *Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει*; see Anti and Polacco, *Il teatro antico di Siracusa* i 28, 43, 204, and cf. already Reisch, *RE* II (1896) 1790. Since according to Seneca it was under Gaius’ reign that Apion was fêted by Greek cities as a second Homer (see introd.), it is quite possible that he won his dramatic victory at the *ludi* put on by the emperor. The Sebasta in Naples referred to next (5–6) also took place in the summer of 38 during Gaius’ reign.

For the association of Dionysiac artists and the Museum connected with the theatre of Syracuse, see below, 36 n. For the honours conferred on Apion by Syracuse, see 32–6.

5–6 *ἐπὶ Σεβαστῶν παραχρῆ[ν] ὄμ[ε]ν ἀγῶνα*. The traces at the beginning of 6 are slight and highly abraded, but they fit *παραγενόμενον* (suggested by Dr Henry) well enough. The expression *παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα* is amply paralleled in inscriptions, e.g. IG II² 1011.53 (106/105 BC), F. Delphes III.2 161.1–3 (27–31?), I. Olympia 54.4–5 (early II), 436.3–4 (85). The reference must be to the penteteric and isolympic Sebasta in Naples, established in AD 2 in honour of Augustus; see E. Miranda, I. Napoli I pp. 91–2, and M. L. Caldelli, *L’Agon Capitolinus* (1993) 28–37, both with further bibliography; cf. also E. Miranda De Martino, *Oebalus* 2 (2007) 203–15. The designation of the contest as *ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἀγῶν* in the singular, however, does not appear to be paralleled.

7–8 *καὶ πρῶτον ποιητῶν εἰσελάσαντα ἐπὶ λευκῷ ἄρματι τεθρίππωι*. A triumphal entrance in a chariot into one’s home city was a privilege of victors in the highest-ranking contests, hence their designation from the reign of Trajan onward as *ἀγῶνες εἰσελαστικοί*; see Pap. Agon. 1.16 n., 10.14–15 n.; A. J. S. Spawforth in S. Walker, A. Cameron (edd.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (BICS 55; 1989) 193–4; W. Slater in P. Martzavou, N. Papazarkadas (edd.), *Epigraphical Approaches to the Post-Classical Polis* (2013) 139–63. Apion’s procession with white horses tallies with Suetonius’ description of Nero’s triumph after his agonistic tour of Greece in 66/7: *albis equis introiit disiecta parte muri, ut mos hieroniarum est* (Nero 25.1). The expression in 5202 has a parallel in a passage of Plutarch *Publ.* 9.9 describing a Roman military triumph: *ἐθριάμβευσε δ’ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς Οὐαλέριος εἰσελάσας τεθρίππω πρώτος ὑπάτων*.

10 [. . .] . . . ω: [τε]φάγω seems to fit the space and traces.

χρυσωτῶ τῆς περιόδου [ε]τεφάνωι. The adjective *χρυσωτός* is very rare, attested only in an epigram by Phalaecus, *App. Anth.* 117.1 = Gow–Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 2935 (see note ad loc.), where it qualifies a chiton; cf. also *ἀχρυσωτός* in I. Délos V 1417 A i.150 (155/154 BC), 1423 B fr. a ii.6 (after 156/155 BC). The articulation *χρυσῶ τῶ* would result in an unusual position of the article.

11] . . . θ: the initial traces may correspond to ν or to αἰ, δι, λι.

τῶν Μουσῶν τεφάγωι: an unparalleled collocation.

12 *καὶ πορφύρα . . .] . . . χρυσε[]*. Probably a form of *πορφύρα*, ‘purple clothing’. *χρυσε[]* further in the line suggests that a golden crown was mentioned alongside it, a combination of accoutrements especially characteristic of *ἀγωνοθέται* and *ἐκστάρχαι*; see Pap. Agon. 3.38 n. and J. Rumscheid, *Kranz und Krone* (2000) 42–3, to which add e.g. G. Petzl, E. Schwertheim, *Hadrian und die dionysischen Künstler* (2006) 10 l. 39 *τοὺς ἀγωνοθέτας τοὺς τε στεφάνους καὶ τὴν πορφύραν ἔχοντας*.

14] . . . ξος καὶ ἀριστ[. . .] . . . These remains recall the expression *πλειστονίκης παράδοξος καὶ ἀριστος Ἑλλήνων* found in a number of honorific inscriptions from second-century Sparta, e.g. IG V 1 305, 553, 555, 628, but it was specific to *hoplitodromoi* in the Eleutheria at Plataea; see Gouw, *Griekse atleten* 132–4. The title *παράδοξος*, which properly designates a victor in two disciplines or in two age categories at the same festival, begins to be attested in agonistic contexts only from the late first century onward (Gouw 123–6). Other possible restorations include [ἐνδ]οξος, [φιλόδ]οξος, the nominative presumably referring to a person or body which honoured Apion (–ξωσ cannot be read).

18 ἐν . . . εἰ. The traces are compatible with e.g. ἐν τῷ ξυ[στῶ]. The space seems too cramped to accommodate ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρεια.

19–20] νιον Μηνωδῶρου αν. The final trace is compatible with α. If Μηνωδῶρου is not the patronymic of a person with a name ending in -νιος, it might be part of a genitive absolute along the lines of Μηνωδῶρου ἀνά[στασιν (sc. τοῦ ἀνδριάντος vel sim.) ποιησαμένου (or ποιήσαντος) ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ (I owe this suggestion to Dr John Ma); but in such expressions ἀνάστασιν is usually accompanied by a definite article.

20 καὶ . . . [: possibly read ἐν].

22–3 ἀνδριάντι καὶ ἀσπι[δ]εῖ[ω]: restored on the analogy of 25; cf. 27–8. On the sense of ἀσπιδεῖον as a round-shaped painted or relief-sculpted portrait (*imago clipeata*), see A. Łukaszewicz, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 109–10, and M. Nowicka, *Archeologia* 44 (1993) 123–4.

23–4 οἱ περὶ τῷ Διόνυσ[ον καὶ] τοὺς ἄλλους [θε]οὺς τεχνεῖ[ται] (l. τεχνῖται). This titulature of the Dionysiac artists does not appear to have any exact parallels; cf. OGIS I 51 = I. Prose 6 (285–246 BC), a decree of the association of Dionysiac artists of Ptolemais honouring a man who πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς καὶ δόξως διακείμενος τυγχάνει (6–7), for his εὐσεβείας τῆς εἰς τε βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς (18–19).

25 ἐν τῷ Δ[ι]όνυσ[ε]ῖ[ω]. The association of Dionysiac artists in Ptolemais is linked to a temple of Dionysus in OGIS I 50.12 = I. Prose 3 (269–246 BC) and OGIS I 51.25 = I. Prose 6 (285–246 BC), but it is uncertain whether we are dealing with the same association here; for the remote possibility that the city honouring Apion in 5202 is Ptolemais, see above, 1 n. In VI 908 = W. *Chr.* 426 (199), one of the parties to the contract is styled Tiberius Claudius Didymus τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Διονυσίου καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς συνόδου ἱερονεϊκῶν ἀτελῶν (8–10); this Dionyseum is assumed to have been situated in Oxyrhynchus (see n. ad loc.); cf. SB XXII 15353.8–10 = I 171 (146/7) ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Δρόμου Θοήριδος οἰκίαν ἐν τόπῳ καλουμένῳ Διονύσου Τεχνεῖτων.

26–7 ἐν Ἐρώμ[η] οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκ[ο]μένης εἰερων[εῖ] καὶ (l. ἱερονίκα) (καὶ) οἱ τού[των] ἐπ[ι]στά- τα[ι]. The σύνδοξος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἱερονικῶν (καὶ στεφανιτῶν) was an elite association of victors in the sacred games, but the extent to which its artistic and athletic 'chapters' were independent in the early Imperial period and their relationship with the regular associations of Dionysiac artists and athletes respectively are quite unclear; for a summary and further bibliography, see Ricciardetto, *APF* 58 (2012) 52–3. If the artistic and athletic sacred victors were organized into separate associations, the nature of Apion's achievements would suggest that it is the association of οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἱερονίκα στεφανῖται which honours him here. The phrase καὶ οἱ τούτων ἐπιστάται, however, never occurs in connection with the Dionysiac sacred victors, but solely in the titulature of the association of worldwide athletic victors: IMT Kaikos (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org>) 830.1–3, 23–5, 46–8 (I), I. Kition 2047.1–3 (I/II), I. Knidos I 234.1, 7 (II–III). The word ἐπιστάτης in this context is usually understood to mean 'trainer' rather than 'chairman, president'; see J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1974 no. 658, with references to further discussion. For such ἐπιστάται in musical contests, one could point to P. Lond. VII 2017.27 = SB III 6997 (242/241 BC) ὅπως ἀν ἑμαντοῦ (a citharode) ἐπιμεληθεῖς καὶ τυχῶν ἐπιστάτου εἰσέλθ[ω εἰς τοὺς] ἀγῶνας οὗς ὁ βασιλεὺς προτίθηται, IG II² 3112.8 (75/6–87/8) (in relation to a Διονυσιακὸς χορὸς).

H. W. Pleket, *ZPE* 10 (1973) 197–227, at 225–6, argues that the association of artistic sacred victors became established in Rome only under Hadrian (it certainly existed at least since the reign of Augustus: cf. Pap. Agon. 1.2); but if that is the association referred to here, 5202 would imply that it was based in Rome already around the mid first century, as cautiously suspected by J.-L. Ferrary in *Filellenismo e tradizionalismo a Roma nei primi due secoli dell'Impero* (1996) 183–210 at 202. It is attested again in Rome by I. Eph. Ia 22 (138–61), by which time it appears to have merged with the regular association of Dionysiac artists (cf. Pleket, loc. cit. 210–12): 17–18 τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπὶ Ἐρώμης τέμενος [τῶν] ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης τεχνεῖτων, 24 οἱ ἐπὶ Ἐρώμης τεχνεῖται, 68 πρὸς τὴν ἐν Ἐρώμῃ σύνδοξον, 73–7 (lines

printed only in the *ed. pr.*, *BCH* 9 (1885) 126–7) ψήφισμα τῆς ἱερᾶς Ἀδριανῆς Ἀντωνεῖνης θυμεικῆς περιπ[ο]λιτικῆς μεγάλ[ης] . . . ἐπὶ Ἐρώμης συνόδου [τῶν ἀπὸ] τῆς οἰκ[ο]μένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ Ἀδοκρά[τορα] Καί[σαρα] Τ[ίτον] Ἀλλίου Ἀδριανὸν Ἀντωνεῖνον] εἰς β[ε]βαι[σ]τον . . . (possibly supply τεχνεῖτων ἱερονεϊκῶν στεφανεῖτων); cf. also I. Heraclea Pontica 2.20–22 (II).

εἰερων[εῖ] καὶ (καὶ). A haplography has been assumed because there is no space at the end of 26 for εἰερων[(ε)ῖκα] καὶ. Alternatively, the scribe could have abbreviated the first word at line-end, i.e. written εἰερων[ικ(αι)] καὶ; cf. the abbreviation of λαβόντ(α) at the end of 6.

28–9]] εἰται: [φιλοσι]μείται (of the first letter virtually nothing)?

29 τη. εἰ. ησε. I have considered τῆ ζειτήσει, but the putative τ is difficult.

29–30 ἐπι. . . μένων: possibly a genitive absolute participle with ἀνδ[ριάν]των, but a convincing supplement has eluded me. The first letter after εἰ is an upright with a horizontal join at the top right, followed by what might be the left arm and bottom of ω. Of the putative η, the two uprights; η not completely excluded. If one is to read ἐπὶ τῶν [. . .] μένων Ἀπίωνος ἀνδ[ριάν]των, it is unclear what the short participle could be ([εσο]μένων?) and what action was performed upon the statues (i.e. the main verb governing the prepositional phrase).

29–32 Assuming the restoration of ἀνδ[ριάν]των is correct (ἀνα[θημ]άτων, ἀνα[λωμ]άτων would be too long for the space), these lines appear to list the agonistic venues in which statues of Apion were erected. The statues cannot commemorate Apion's victories in these places as περιοδικῆς, because (1) it is highly doubtful that the Actia were part of the περίοδος at this time, and (2) musical-poetic contests did not figure in the Olympic games; see above, 2–3 n. Apion, nevertheless, could have visited Actium and Olympia and been granted statues there purely *honoris causa* rather than for a victory, and it is possible that he performed in a non-competitive context, that is, in an *epideixis*. Some statues of poets of the Imperial period are known in Olympia from their inscribed bases, e.g. I. Olympia 457 (II), 482 (233); both poets are said to have performed there, the first with an 'Olympic hymn' (cf. B. Biliński, *Agoni ginnici: componenti artistiche ed intellettuali nell'antica agonistica greca* (1979) 113). Alternatively, the statues at these five venues could have been voted as an honorific measure by Apion's native city or some other body; for some decrees proposing the erection of honorific statues at all four traditional 'Panhellenic' sites, see Amandry, *BCH Suppl.* 6 (1980) 248 n. 95.

30 ἐν Ἀκτίῳ. It is notable that Actium is placed first in this list of agonistic venues. The originally minor games in honour of Apollo at Actium were refounded by Augustus in 27 BC to commemorate his decisive naval victory there four years earlier. The contests were held every four years in Nicopolis, a newly built city near Actium, and were elevated to the status of the Olympic games; see Caldelli, *L'Agon Capitolinus* 24–8, with further bibliography, to which add e.g. M. Lämmer, *Stadion* 12/13 (1986/7) 27–38, and O. Pavlogiannis et al., *Nikephoros* 22 (2009) 79–102. The other four sites in 31–2 are listed in their traditional order of prestige.

32–6 The placement of this section at the end of the document, after what seems to be the concluding climax of Apion's 'Panhellenic' honours in 29–32, and the short blank space preceding it suggest that it was a later addition to the inscription (so Prof. Parsons). For updates of this kind in honorific inscriptions, Dr Henry points to e.g. SEG LIV 1184.

32 ἀνδριάντι δημοσί[ω]ι: cf. I. Estremo Oriente 89.9 = SEG XV 849 (Palmyra; 132) ἀνδριάντι δημοσίωι. Dr Ma suggests the alternative possibility of restoring δημοσί[αι] sc. δαπάνη, 'at public expense' (LSJ s.v. δημόσιος V.1).

33–4 δν εν[ε]λέγκας κατ' ἄ[ν]δρα ἐποίησεν ὁ δῆμος. In contrast to the preceding statue, which was made at public expense, this second statue was realized through individual contributions. κατ' ἄ[ν]δρα is Prof. Parsons's restoration; the two alphas framing ἄ[ν]δρα are virtually certain; δ and ρ are less so but are not contradicted by the few remaining traces at the beginning of 34.

35 πεντήκο[ν]τα χρυσῶν. A frequent value of golden crowns in inscriptions from Hellenistic Cos, e.g. IG XII 4.1 129.67–8, 72 (306–301 BC), 167.20 (II BC), 108.13 (c.200–150 BC), 4.2 1178.6 (II BC); cf.

also SEG XXXII 1147.29 (Magnesia Mae.; 208/207 BC). One expects the preposition ἀπό, but for its omission cf. I. Olbia 68.5 (III BC), F. Delphes III.3 214.22, 26 = Syll.³ 443 (247/246 BC).

36 τὸ Μουσείον ἄλλοι εἰς οἴκηταιν ἐδωρήσαν[το]. To the best of my knowledge, there are no exact parallels for such an honour. The existence of a Museum near the theatre of Syracuse has already been surmised from IG XIV 13 (I BC?), an honorific decree by the Syracusan association of Dionysiac artists deposited apparently ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ (2-3). This inscription was found together with another honorific decree by the same association (IG XIV 12, I BC?) in the great theatre itself, so that the Museum must have been not too far from the latter; cf. also SEG XXXIV 974 = IGLP 106 (c.100 BC), a similar decree attesting a 'priest of Apollo(?), the Muses, and Dionysus'. On these inscriptions, see further L. Moretti, *RFIC* 91 (1963) 38-45; G. Manganaro, *SicGymn* 16 (1963) 51-64, at 57-61; B. Le Guen, *Les Associations de Technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique* (2001) i 319-26, ii 36-8. The building appears to have served as the shrine and headquarters of the association of Dionysiac artists of Syracuse. It is commonly presumed to have been situated in the terrace complex above the theatre, where a grotto-Nymphaeum was also located; see G. E. Rizzo, *Il teatro greco di Siracusa* (1923) 130-33; Anti and Polacco, *Il teatro antico di Siracusa* i 199 with n. 54; Le Guen, *Les Associations de Technites dionysiaques* i 321, ii 77; on the archaeology of the terrace, see further Polacco, *Il teatro antico di Siracusa* ii 29-58.

According to the biographer Hermippus of the third century BC (*FGH Hist* 1026 F 84 = fr. 94 Wehrli = *Vit. Eur.* 5 Schwartz), Dionysius I of Syracuse (r. 405-367 BC) purchased Euripides' cithara, tablets, and stylus from the tragedian's heirs and dedicated them in a shrine of the Muses (ἐν τῷ Μουσῶν ἱερῷ). Hermippus' reliability has been doubted, but even if the story is apocryphal, it is unlikely that he invented the existence of such a shrine in the city. It is uncertain, however, whether it is to be identified with the Museum attested in IG XIV 13 and 5202; for an identification of the two, cf. e.g. P. Reichert-Südbeck, *Kulte von Korinth und Syrakus* (2000) 143-4.

Unplaced fragments

Fr. 1	Fr. 2	Fr. 3	Fr. 4
. . .]. ι . []ϷϷ[stripped]δ[5] . ν[	. . . ]. δ[]ηχρ[]εχρ[ ]. . .	. . . ]. ω . []. []. [.	. . .]. []τφ . . . []. πνε[.
Fr. 5	Fr. 6	Fr. 7	Fr. 8
. . .]ει . . . []τφ . [ ]. . .	. . . ]. ρ . []ω[]. τ[	. . . ]. [ ]. κ . [.	. . .]. ν . []. ρ . [.

A. BENAÏSSA

5203. LIST OF SONGS

31 4B.13/H(4-5)a

15 × 16.8 cm

Second century

On a used piece of papyrus, two columns of semi-cursive in a hand like that of P. Coll. Youtie I 27 (165). The writer makes extensive but inconsistent use of abbreviations, and there are no lection signs except an internal diaeresis (i 4). The earlier writing has not been thoroughly erased. Most of it is in a sloping cursive, apparently belonging to an account. The legible text includes]- Ἀντωνίω [in semi-cursive on the left-hand side near the foot. The back is blank.

With the exception of a narrow strip on the left that extends further down, the papyrus survives only to a depth of about 9.6 cm. To judge by the arrangement of the text edited here, in particular the depths of the preserved lower margins, the papyrus probably had the same shape when 5203 was written. The main body of col. i stands on an alignment about 4.6 cm to the right of the left-hand edge, with line 1 projecting by about 0.6 cm. The column width is about 4.4 cm (5 cm if the projecting part of line 1 is included), and the space between the columns is about 2.4 cm wide. Col. ii extends as far as the right-hand edge of the papyrus. The writer appears to have taken into account only the length of the first line of the column in choosing this alignment. Lower down, the extensive use of abbreviations may suggest that he was struggling to fit the text into a column 3.4 cm wide. The upper margin is only about 0.7 cm high. Col. i has a preserved lower margin about 4.2 cm deep, while the figure for col. ii is about 2.1 cm; if the loss of the cross-fibres on the right-hand side at the foot occurred after the text of 5203 was written, the original figure may have been about 3.1 cm.

There is some evidence of horizontal and vertical folds. The lower right-hand corner of the sheet appears to have broken off along a horizontal fold at its upper edge (giving an approximately horizontal preserved edge for some distance) and along the edge of a sheet-join on its left. Of the apparent vertical folds, the most significant stands approximately 6.7 cm to the left of the right-hand edge. Symmetrical worm-holes on either side of this fold about 2.5 cm and 7.3 cm from the top will have been made at a time when the papyrus was folded vertically only along this line (and horizontally either not at all or only in such a way that the corresponding holes fell in the lower part of the papyrus, now lost). Since the text of 5203 does not run across any of these four holes, it cannot be determined with certainty whether the paired holes were present when 5203 was written. But the worm-holes that have resulted in losses to the text of 5203 do not occur in symmetrical pairs, indicating that the papyrus was not folded along the vertical line in question when they were formed.

Col. i gives a list of songs of Epagathus the χοραύλης from six plays, each of which is given a line to itself. There are forty songs in total, a figure given in the first

line and repeated (following a long paragraphus) in the concluding summary in the last line. Col. ii proceeds to list in a more summary fashion some songs of others, including in one case a *χοραύλης* (8) and in two cases a *τραγωιδός* (4, 6). Each entry consists of a one-line description concluding with a numeral, which may be placed either on the same line or by itself on the next line where the description proper takes up a whole line. The entries are separated by long paragraphi. The first (1-2) is clearly written, though damaged, but the writing in the remainder of the column shows signs of haste, and much is illegible, in particular where corrections have apparently been made over the text to be corrected. It is possible that col. ii, or at least its lower part (from line 3), was an unplanned later addition to the list of Epagathus' songs in col. i.

The function of the list is unclear (cf. West, *Ancient Greek Music* 377). It may have been the programme of a performance given on a particular occasion, in which Epagathus was the main attraction. Alternatively, it may be a list of the repertory offered for performance by Epagathus and others, perhaps associates of his.

This text was first edited by Dr W. E. H. Cockle in *Pap. Cong. XIV* (1975) 59-65 with pl. XV; R. Kannicht included the papyrus in *TzGF.v.2* (1103-4) as DID B 15a, with brief notes. I am grateful to Prof. D'Alessio and Dr Prauscello for sharing some material on *choraulai*.

Col. i

ψδ(αι) Ἐπαγάθου τοῦ χορ(αύ)λ(ου) μ
 δραμάτων 5
 Ὑψιπύλης 5
 Δηϊδαμεία(ς)
 5 Ἀνδρογυν()
 Λύτ(ρων) Ἐκτορ(ος)
 Μηδείης
 Ἀντιόπης
 | ἐαυτοῦ ψδαὶ μ

1 ψ χόρ 4 δηϊδαμεί 5 ανδρογυν 6 λυεκτορ 7 l. Μηδείας
 8 αντιοπή 9 |εαυτοῦ ψδαὶ

Col. ii

ψδαὶ . [] . . ων
 β̄
 ψδαὶ Κανώπου β̄
 ψδαὶ δρ() ψδ(αι) τοῦ τρα(γω)δ(ου)
 5 γ̄
 ψδ(αι) τοῦ τρα(γω)δ(ου)
 τ̄
 . . . υλ() τοῦ χοραύλ(ου) 5
 . . δ() . . . [.]ων ψδαὶ
 10 δ̄
 4 δρ̄δ̄τουρ̄δ̄α 6 δ̄ω̄τουρ̄δ̄α 8 . . . ῡ λ̄ χοραὺ 9 . δ̄ δ̄αι written on δ̄

(Col. i) 'Songs of Epagathus the *choraules*, 40, from 6 dramas: from *Hypsipyle*, 6; from *Deidameia*; from *Androgyos* (?); from *Ransoming of Hector*; from *Medea*; from *Antiope*; total, 40 songs of his own.'

Col. i

1 ψδ(αι). The resolution is confirmed by i 9, ii 1, 3, 4, 9 (?), where the word is given in full. The same abbreviated form is found at ii 4 and apparently ii 6.

Ἐπαγάθου: unknown. There is no reason to connect him with the Claudius Epagathus named as an envoy in a letter of the emperor Claudius to the association of Artists of Dionysus (*Pap. Agon.* 1.2).

χορ(αύ)λ(ου). The resolution is confirmed by ii 8, where a fuller version appears. The ρ has a long horizontal stroke extending to the right at the level of the base of the loop (cf. the supralinear ρ at 6), but this is probably to be considered as part of the letter rather than as an additional stroke indicating abbreviation: the letter has a similar though less extended connecting-stroke in mid-word at 2 and 5.

χοραύλης is used of an aulete playing together with a chorus already in the first century BC (I. Priene 113.80 of c.80 BC). The term is applied to one Musaeus in F. Delphes III.3 129.3 (20-46). Later epigraphic examples attest to the inclusion of contests for *χοραῦλαι* at festivals. The first *χοραύλης* known to have been a sacred victor is apparently Ti. Claudius Glaphyrus, whose victories at the Sebasta and Actia are mentioned in *GIL VI* 10120 (possibly Augustan: see J.-Y. Strasser, *BCH* 126 (2002) 131). The evidence continues into the third century. For a study of the use of the term, see Strasser, *BCH* 126 (2002) 97-142, esp. 128-34; for the introduction of contests for *χοραῦλαι* in Boeotian festivals, A. Manieri, *Agoni poetico-musicali nella Grecia antica* i (2009) 75, 332.

The term does not appear elsewhere in the papyri. SB XIV 11931 (Karanis, II/III) gives rules for a contest among *αὐληταὶ κύκλιοι*, but this term may well have a more limited application, though modern scholars (including Strasser) often consider *χοραύλης* and *αὐλητῆς κύκλιος* to be interchangeable. Aulos-players are commonly found in Egyptian documents: see e.g. LXXIV 5014 4-5, 5015 5, O. Trim. I 86.11; F. Perpillou-Thomas, *ZPE* 108 (1995) 226.

5203 is the only piece of direct evidence for the music performed by *χοραῦλαι*. It is not clear whether the compositions listed here were sung by a chorus, or soloists, or both: cf. West, *Ancient Greek Music* 377.

3 Ὑψιπύλης. A title of plays by Aeschylus (*TrGF* III p. 352), Euripides (fr. 752–70), and Cleaenetus (*TrGF* 84 T 4). Since the list also includes *Medea* and *Antiope* (7–8), it is reasonable to suppose that Euripides' play is meant here; cf. West, *Hellenica* iii 196.

4 Δηίδαμεια(ς). Deidameia appears in two papyrus fragments of tragedy set to music (*DAGM* 39, 53).

5 Ἀνδρογυν(). Possibly Ἀνδρογύν(ου) or Ἀνδρογύν(ων), with reference to Menander's Ἀνδρόγυνος ἢ Κρής (fr. 50 ff.) or Eupolis' Ἀστράτευτοι ἢ Ἀνδρόγυνοι (fr. 35 ff.). But a comic title seems out of place in a list otherwise limited to titles of mythological tragedies; nor do we have any other good evidence for musical settings of extracts from comedy (S. Nervegna, *Menander in Antiquity* (2013) 83–4). West, *Ancient Greek Music* 377, appends a question mark to the entry. Possibly the writer's attention wandered and we should restore Ἀνδρομάχης or Ἀνδρομέδαι. Both are Euripidean titles (cf. 3 n.). For other plays entitled *Andromeda*, see *TrGF* V.1 p. 237. Other plays entitled *Andromache* are attested for Sophocles (*TrGF* IV pp. 155–6) and Antiphon (*TrGF* 55 F 1); cf. Trag. adesp. 644.

The ο is clumsily written, with the left-hand arc hanging from the bar that forms the base of the loop of ρ (cf. 2 ρα) while the straight right-hand side extends higher in the line, but the reading is not in doubt.

6 Ἀνύ(ρων) Ἐκτορος. A title of plays by Aeschylus (*TrGF* III p. 364 Φρύγες ἢ Ἐκτορος Ἀνύρα) and Dionysius (*TrGF* 76 T 3 and fr. 2a–b (*TrGF* I² pp. 354–5)).

7 Μηδείης, l. Μηδείας. For the error, cf. *ἱερείης* in P. Amh. II 97.2 (181) and P. Coll. Youtie II 73.2 (289); Gignac, *Grammar* ii 6. Such forms are occasionally found in tragic fragments: cf. Trag. adesp. 701.5 Κυθίην with note. For plays so entitled, besides that of Euripides (cf. 3 n.), see *TrGF* II p. 336 (tragedy), *PCG* IV p. 57 (comedy). Part of Carcinus' *Medea* is given a musical setting in a papyrus of the second century (West, *Hellenica* ii 334–50).

8 Ἀντιόπης. A title of plays by Euripides (fr. 179 ff.) and Eubulus (*PCG* V p. 194). Presumably the first is meant; cf. 3 n.

9 / introduces a total as regularly.

Col. ii

1 . . . φν. For the genitive plural with φδαι, cf. 9 (?). In place of ω, the ed. pr. gives αω, but alpha would be anomalous, with its apex too far to the right and its tail on the line, rather than raised, as elsewhere. On the other hand, φ would be wider than elsewhere, with surplus ink in the middle, and it would not be easy to explain the loop joined to its left-hand side (part of λ, according to the decipherment in the ed. pr.). But it would be hard to produce a plausible supplement ending in -αων.

I cannot make anything of what precedes. The ed. pr. gives φ[.]ci. The first traces may represent the upper left-hand part of the loop and part of the upright of φ, but the upright may be a cancel-stroke, as the ed. pr. notes. c is possible, but some hesitation is in order, since the papyrus is lost above and to the left of the traces. i is followed by a second upright, which touches the trace that the ed. pr. takes for the loop of λ, and the ed. pr. considers taking the two uprights together as the remains of π.

Prof. D'Alessio and I have both considered reading]cικων, but κ, with its arms made as a low tight loop, would be highly anomalous; and even if the reading were accepted, μ[ου]cικων would fit neither trace nor space at the start, while φ[υ]cικων would not give plausible sense.

3 Κανώπου: unidentified. A Κανώπος κισθαρωδός is mentioned in a list of performers assigned to the second century (LXXIV 5013 1), but the editor notes that the name is common. The reading is difficult and uncertain at the start, where a correction seems to have been executed. Turner suggests in the ed. pr. that καμ may have been corrected to καμν, but this proposal does not seem to account for all the ink. Prof. D'Alessio wonders whether the scribe's intention was to correct the word to κωμφοῦ, but ωμ would be extremely squashed, and π does not appear to have been corrected, as he

notes. It is curious that Canopus's function is left unspecified while the τραγωιδός (or τραγωιδός) and χοραύλης mentioned below (4, 6, 8) are left unnamed: cf. 4 n.

4 δρ(). The ed. pr. adopts O. M. Pearl's expansion δρ(αματικά), but δρ(αμάτων) is simpler and supported by i 2.

φδ(αι) τοῦ τρα(γω)δ(οῦ). For the tragic singers called τραγωιδός (LSJ s.v. ii), cf. e.g. S. Nervegna, *ZPE* 162 (2007) 37–9; ead., *Menander in Antiquity* 85–8. If this is a list of songs to be performed on a particular occasion, the absence of the name may be accounted for by supposing that a performer had not been decided on or that his name was at any rate not known to the compiler when producing this list, or that the identity of the performer was of no particular interest. But it is also possible that the writer did not want the description to extend beyond the end of this line. Cf. also 3 n.

6 The ed. pr. gives νο, but while νο is possible, it seems safer, in view of the irregularity of the hand and the absence of a context, to print only sublinear dots.

φδ(αι) τοῦ τρα(γω)δ(οῦ). The reading of φδ(αι) is very doubtful: again, the text seems to have been corrected. The ed. pr., following a suggestion of Turner's, gives διθ, but notes that the upper half of his θ could be taken as a supralinear Δ. ω is far from easy, and the interpretation leaves ink unaccounted for both to its left (the δ of the ed. pr.) and to the left of τ (where the ed. pr. gives), but it has the merit of giving suitable Greek, already used at 4 above. Διθ would be written most anomalously; κροθ, also considered by the ed. pr., seems no more satisfactory.

7 τ. The confused traces following ι may represent a deleted δ (so the ed. pr.): in that case, '14' was corrected to '10'. The ed. pr. gives / before the numeral, but the ink in question is faint and probably belongs to the earlier text. What follows is in any case not a total. The sign is omitted from Kannicht's transcription.

8 . . . υλ(). To judge by what precedes, this may be either a personal name in the genitive or a plural substantive parallel to the repeated φδαι: the latter interpretation may be likelier, since the plural substantive is nowhere else certainly omitted. Turner reads παφυλ, which he interprets as Πα(μ)φύλ(ου). This is at least a known name, but it is not likely here. The omission of the mu would be surprising, and Πάμφυλος does not seem to be found as a historical personal name at all, though LGPN IIB records one bearer of Πάμφυλος (Larisa, c.80 BC). None of the letters before υ can be read with certainty, and some of the ink may belong to the earlier text. (The faint traces just to the left of the column clearly do belong to the earlier text, as the ed. pr. notes.) λ is not too unlike the λ of χοραύλ(ου), but it has a surprisingly flat top, and τ may be better, though still doubtful, since its cross-bar would project hardly at all to the left of its upright.

The paragraphus under this line is omitted by the ed. pr. and Kannicht.

9 . . δ() . . . : illegible. The writer appears to have corrected or deleted some letters. The ed. pr. gives αδ', Kannicht

φδαι. Perhaps, as the ed. pr. suggests, φδαι was substituted for the numeral δ, and the numeral was then given again in the next line. The last line of col. i provides a possible parallel for a later insertion of φδαι (for the sake of clarity).

W. B. HENRY

5204. DIRECTIONS FOR PANKRATION (?)

21 3B.25/E(4)e

fr. 1 17.1 × 12.3 cm

Second century

On the back of an official register, seven fragments of a text written in a small cursive hand resembling that of XXV 2429 (commentary on Epicharmus). The

12 πρόβαλε: cf. 6 n.

... [.] ἀμενος. The initial letter is perhaps likeliest to be λ or Δ; the next may be λ. Perhaps ἀλλ[α]ξάμενος.

ϰυ above the line is presumably intended to replace the deleted και on the line, and in this position, between two imperatives, only κύ is possible, but it does not account for the first trace (perhaps the top of an upright with a short stroke extending to the right). It may be intended as a mark of punctuation, to replace the blank space that regularly precedes κύ on the line.

χείρα[: probably the opponent's hand. Cf. 3 n.

13 μεταβαλοῦ: cf. 466 6, 26 (Poliakoff 167).

I take the supralinear traces to represent ϰυ, which could easily have dropped out after ου if the exemplar had little or no blank space at this point. But the second trace, apparently a short upright touching the tail of ψ in the line above, does not suggest γ.

14] . . νοιξ[.]ν.] ἀνοιξ[ο]ν is a possible reading. But in the vicinity of forms of ἀγκών, it is tempting to recognize νύξον, with the familiar substitution of οι for υ, though the correct spelling is used at 8.

αγκ . . . ε . . . [. Adapting a suggestion of Dr Chang's, one may consider reading ἀγκῶνι ἐπ'; Dr Chang notes that the same phrase may be used again in the next line (after και). For the preposition, cf. perhaps 8 νύξα[ε] ἐπι[ε].

15 . . . [.]ε. ἀγκῶνα: cf. 14 n. If ἀγκῶνι ἐπ' ἀγκῶνα, the preceding imperative will no doubt have been νύξον however spelt, as apparently in 14 (see n.), and]ν at the start of the line may be its final letter.

ἀν[τ]ίβα: cf. 7.

16 ἀπ[ό]πλεξαι. Apparently not used elsewhere of a competitor in combat sport, but πλέκειν and its compounds are familiar in this context (Poliakoff 75–87). The corruption (active for middle) may have been caused by the frequent occurrence of πλέξον in this category of text. Before it, κάθ[ο]ν would fit. It would produce asyndeton, but a ϰυ originally lost after ου may have been added above the line; cf. 12 n., 13 n.

17 ἀνακάθ[ου]: cf. 9.

Fr 2 col. i

5, 6 περίλαβε: cf. Poliakoff 124.

col. ii

3 ἀνάστα [χείρα: cf. fr. 1.3. The extension of the tail of the final α implies word-end.

4 δυ . . . [: 'dive' or 'two'? The final traces do not much help to narrow down the possibilities.

5 δὸς χε[ρ]-? Again the final traces are unhelpful.

7 The initial δ is enlarged. The beginnings of the preceding lines are lost to surface damage, but 9–10 at any rate appear to have begun on an alignment further to the right, and the same may be conjectured for the rest.

παρεμβολήν: cf. Poliakoff 28–33.

8 μετακάθισον: apparently new to the terminology of combat sport.

Fr. 3

2 Possibly γ]όνυ [, but the division is uncertain.

4 τῆ ἀ]ριστερᾷ ἀπ[. 466 suggests ἀπ[ό]βαλε (24) or ἀπ[ω]σαι (iii 2); cf. also fr. 1.8 above. Before, probably κύ.

7 There is a trace on the edge touching the back of ϰ where a blank space would be expected, but the articulation seems hard to avoid.

Fr. 4

Column foot likely but not confirmed by the front.

Fr. 6

3 περί[ωσαι, περί[λαβε?

Fr. 7

4 ϰὸ πλ[έξον?

W. B. HENRY

5205. SPELL FOR THE CHARIOT RACE

39 5B.119/E(5)a

8.5 × 11.5 cm

Fourth/fifth century
Plate VIII

This piece consists of remains of seventeen lines written along the fibres with a thick pen in an irregular but practised cursive hand, for which cf. e.g. P. Cair. Preis. 2 and 3, of 362; P. Köln III 139, of 387; Bodl. MS. Gr. class. f 65 (P), of 439 (ed. A. Benaissa, *JJP* 38 (2008) 53–61, with a photograph). The back is blank. The left margin is extant to c. 1 cm; the right margin is not preserved, and it may be conjectured on the basis of line 10 that at least c. 10 letters have been lost in each line on that side: see n. It is not clear how much is lost at the top; at the foot there is blank papyrus to a depth of 0.5 cm, presumably the lower margin.

The text consists of a series of invocations beginning with ἐξορκίζω σε, addressed to a νεκυδαίμων and calling upon an eclectic list of higher powers—Egyptian gods (9, 14–15), four or more Hebrew angels (10), the God of Gods (13), along with a series of *voces magicae* (8). The context is agonistic and equestrian, as is shown by the reference to the circus faction of the Blues and their horses (5); the horses themselves (or possibly the charioteers) are mentioned by name (3, 6, 12). The spell is an aggressive one, intended to hold a rival team back and make it fall (11, 16); the operative verb πάταξον appears in 5 and 17. On the structure of the team (or teams) in question, see 3 n.

This is so far the only known agonistic *defixio* preserved on papyrus. Curses of this type appear on tablets, in most cases made of lead, found at fourteen different places in the Graeco-Roman world, now collected by J. Tremel, *Magica agonistica: Fluchtafeln im antiken Sport* (2004), cited below as Tremel, *MA*; add *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae* II 1679, a lead curse tablet of the fourth/fifth century found in the eastern hippodrome of Caesarea. Twelve lead tablets from the circus of Antioch are being edited by F. Heintz and A. Hollmann (see *ZPE* 145 (2003) 67–8); note also SB XXVI 16369, an ostrakon giving a curse directed against the Green faction. 5205 is the third curse related to a sporting competition found at Oxyrhynchus, the others being Suppl. Mag. 53 (= Tremel, *MA* 10), a lead tablet of

the third century directed against a runner, and an unpublished lead tablet in the Cologne papyrus collection containing a curse on horses (see *ZPE* 100 (1994) 332).

Race curses can be traced back to the magical handbook PGM III, which gives instructions for a long and complex ritual involving a cat (lines 1–164) and to be used for different purposes, including restraint of charioteers in a race (162–3 *κάτοχος ἡμιόχων ἐν ἀγῶνι*). It directs the reader to write names of chariots and charioteers on a piece of papyrus and (probably) to draw the horses (19–21); see H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* 2 (1992) 19 n. 6; R. Merkelbach, M. Totti, *Abrasax* 1 (1990) 81–103, esp. 102–3; Tremel, *MA* pp. 51–2; F. Heintz, ‘Circus Curses and Their Archaeological Contexts’, *JRA* 11 (1998) 337–42, at 342; cf. PGM IV 2145–2240, esp. 2215–17 with Tremel, *MA* p. 54. This model is clearly reflected in an applied curse against the Blue faction preserved on a fourth-century (or later) tablet from Beirut (Tremel, *MA* 19), entitled *κάτοχος ἵππων κὲ ἡμιόχων*; see D. R. Jordan, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 325–35, esp. 328.

For circus games, cf. J. Gager (ed.), *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (1992), esp. pp. 42–77 on ‘Competition in Theater and Circus’; id., ‘Curse and Competition in the Ancient Circus’, in H. W. Attridge et al. (edd.), *Of Scribes and Scrolls* (1990) 215–28; Heintz, loc. cit.; P. Lee-Stecum, ‘Dangerous Reputations: Charioteers and Magic in Fourth-Century Rome’, *G&R* 53 (2006) 224–34; H. P. D’Escrucac, ‘Magie et cirque dans la Rome antique’, *ByzF* 12 (1987) 449–67. See also F. Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* (1997), esp. 121, 155–8, 196.

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ο. . . [. . .]
 . . . ρρι. [. . .]
 5 *Καραγηνός Βελζμου Παρθάων Διδύμε Νυμφικὲ Πελη. Στραβ[ός*
κατὰ τῶν ἀγίων ὀνομάτων τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σοι. [
πάταξον τοὺς ἵππους τῶν Καλλαίνων, κάτεχε αὐτοὺς ἵνα. [
Παρθάων Νυμφικὲ Στραβός Πελη. ἔξορκίζω σε, νεκ[ύ]δαιμον
β. . . β. αρ. ἔξορκίζω σε, νεκ[ύ]δαιμον
χαταβας αχλα. χαλβαβας. ἔξορκίζω σε κατὰ τ. [κα-
τὰ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ Ὄρου αρχεφρενεψου φριγξ. ἔξορκίζω σε [ε
 10 *Γαβριήλ Ραφαήλ Μιχαήλ Βουήλ, ἀπελθε εἰς τὸν ι. [ἵνα κα-*
ταβάλλης πτωματίσης καὶ δέσης τοὺς [
Παρθάων Διδύμε Στραβός Νυμφικὲ Πελη. μ. . . [
ἔξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν θεῶν ενφ. . . [
 *Οὐσίραπιν Οὐσορ Μνευειν Οὐς[*
 15 *[.] ν τοῦ κυρίου Οὐσερ. [*
ο. [.] ν κύρον πτωματι. [
χ. . . [.] . πάταξον αὐτο. [

‘. . . Sarakenos Belehmu Parthaon Didyme Nymphike Pele— Strabos . . . by the holy names that are attached to you . . . smite the horses of the Blues, hold them back so that . . . Parthaon Nymphike Strabos Pele—. I adjure you, spirit of the dead, by (*voce[m] magicam*). I adjure you, spirit of the dead, by (*voce[m] magicam*). I adjure you by . . . the mighty Horus (*voce[m] magicam*). I adjure you [. . . by] Gabriel, Raphael, Michael, Bouel, go off to the (hippodrome?) so that you may cast down, cause to fall, and bind the . . . Parthaon Didyme Strabos Nymphike Pele—. . . I adjure you by the God of the Gods . . . Ousirapis Ousor Mnevis Ous—. . . of the Lord Ouser—. . . drag, cause to fall . . . smite . . .’

No line is complete at the end. If the supplement suggested in 10 n. is right, the final lacuna there contained 10 letters. This may serve as a guide, but a very approximate guide, given the irregularity of the script and probably of the original right-hand margin.

3 Here (starting with *Παρθάων*) and in lines 6 and 12 we seem to have lists of names. The same five may appear in 3 and 12, and four of them in 6 (with the fifth perhaps to be supplied in the preceding lacuna), but the order is different in each case. They may be the names of a team of four horses and its charioteer. (Marta Darder Lissón, *De nominibus equorum circensium: Pars occidentis* (1996), provides a useful collection of hipponyms, but only for the western provinces.)

The grammar of such lists is unpredictable. In several tablets of the 2nd/3rd cent., all found in Carthage (Tremel, *MA* 56.4–8, 23–9; 57.7–9, 22–6; 58.7–9, 21–4; 59.5–7, 22–5), and in one of the 5th/6th cent. found at Antioch (Tremel, *MA* 11.47–61), lists of hipponyms are in the accusative, because they represent the object of the verbs of aggression. In other places, however, the syntactic relation has been ignored and the lists consist of names in the nominative; see, for example, Tremel, *MA* 19.21–30 and 90.21–8. 5205, although fragmentary, seems to belong to the second group. In Tremel, *MA* 69.5–8, a list of five accusatives—four hipponyms (i.e. a *quadriga*) and the name of the charioteer—occurs without any verb.

We expect *quadrigae* on the assumption that a faction could compete in a race with two or three teams of four horses and a charioteer each; see J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses* (1986) 136–8, 451–2. In the Beirut tablet, twenty-eight horses of the Blues are cursed, perhaps representing an entire stable with seven teams of four horses each and four charioteers (see *ZPE* 100 (1994) 331–4; Tremel, *MA* pp. 70–73; cf. *ZPE* 145 (2003) 78–9). A similar case occurs in a 4th-century tablet from Rome (Tremel, *MA* 90) containing a curse against the Blues, the Reds, and an unnamed faction; see *ZPE* 141 (2002) 146–7. In Tremel, *MA* 45 (π/III, Hadrumetum; bilingual (Greek-Latin)), four hipponyms representing a *quadriga* occur, but it is uncertain whether the only masculine anthroponym (apparently) in the text represents the charioteer. Furthermore, it is unclear whether the sequence *ταχαρχην* represents another hipponym or a nickname of one of the previously mentioned horses or should be taken as a *vox magica*.

A further question concerns the ratio of sexes within the teams, if indeed there were mixed teams. Of the names read with reasonable certainty, two belong to mares (*Νυμφική*, *Διδύμη*). Certainly mares raced. Darder Lissón lists Gemmula, Gloriosa, Harpe, Margarita, Melissa, *Οικουμένη*, *Όλυμπιονίκη*, Puerina, Romula. There are mythological precedents: *Αϊθή*, the mare belonging to Agamemnon and used by Menelaus for the race at the funeral games in honour of Patroclus (*Il.* 23.295, 409, 525); *Ερίφα* and *Παρθενία*, the two mares buried together with their owner Marmax, the first suitor of Hippodamia (Paus. 6.21.7); Pholoë, Iris, and Thoë, the three mares of Admetus that participated in the games in honour of Opheltes (*Stat. Theb.* 6.332–9, 461–2).

Caraghnós, l. *Carakhnós* (read by Dr Gonis): η apparently corrected from ι. This ethnic, referring to the late antique nomadic Arabs of the Eastern Desert, occurs in papyri from the fourth century onwards. For the Saracens, see T. Power in H. Barnard, K. Duistermaat (edd.), *The History of the Peoples of the Eastern Desert* (2012) 282–97. P. Mayerson, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 284, notes that Saracens are mentioned together with Blemmyes (see next n.) in the petition P. Cair. Masp. I 67009 (c.567–70) and in a poem of Dioscorus of Aphroditto, P. Aphrod. Lit. IV 10.23; cf. also the homily P. Lond. Copt. I 280.11, and for further passages see J. Desanges in T. Fahd (ed.), *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel* (1989) 428 = *Toujours Afrique apporte fait nouveau* (1999) 336 (we owe the reference to Prof. J.-L. Fournet). Here it could be taken as a hipponym of the type that indicates ethnic origin, for which see Darder Lissón 39; *ZPE* 145 (2003) 78–80; Tremel, *MA* pp. 61–2. Otherwise, perhaps the spirit is to attack like one of the Saracens or Blemmyes.

Βελζμου: Coptic *ΒΛΖΜΟΥ* (singular), corresponding to the Greek *Βλέμ(μ)νες* (plural). Cf. SB XX 14705.14 *τό(πος) Πιαζ Βελζ* [. . .]φν, dubiously associated with Aphroditto, where Dr Gonis tentatively suggests *Βελζ[μ]ου* (cf. SB XX 14669.205 *τόπ(ου) τῶν Βλεμμύων*). The Blemmyes were depicted, especially in Coptic monastic literature, as demonic entities: cf. W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* 38; L. Török, *Between Two Worlds: The Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt 3700 BC–500 AD* (2009) 470–72, 522–8; J. H. F. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion* (2008) 153–70; id. in Barnard and Duistermaat (edd.), op. cit., 239–47.

Παρθάων. While the (mythological) name is not clear in this line, it can be read with some confidence on the strength of lines 6 and 12.

Διδύμη WBH. The last letter is uncertain: rather λ? Cf. 12.

Νυμφική, l. *Νυμφική*. The name recurs in lines 6 and 12, which confirm the reading here. The masculine *Νυμφικός* appears as a hipponym in Tremel, *MA* 19.22.

Πελη. WBH, who recognizes the same name at 6 and 12. The word may be Coptic; the last trace is compatible with *kyima*. Cf. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 261, who records *ΠΕΛΗΘ* (Achimic; Sahidic *ΠΕΛΗΚ*), 'meaning unknown, epithet of Antichrist, ?thin'; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* 147, has 'schmähendes Beiwort: alt? zerlumpt?'.
Στραβός WBH, cf. 6, 12.

At line-end supply *ἐξορκίζω σε*, 'I adjure you', as in lines 6, 7, 8, 9, 13.

4 *κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων ὀνομάτων*. For this expression see PGM IV 979, 2033–4, V 76–7, Suppl. Mag. 98 no. 6.1–2.

τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σο WBH; cf. PGM III 39–40 *κατὰ [τ]ῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σο ὀνομάτων*.

5 *πάταξον*. For the verb see Suppl. Mag. nos. 59–60 (hexameters), 61. These all come from a Christian context; in the LXX *πατάσκειν* serves as an almost technical term for divine intervention; see G. Björck, *Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus* (1938) 19 f.

Καλλαίωνων refers to the circus faction of the Blues; references to the Veneti from Oxyrhynchus are later, but the two terms for the Blues seem to co-exist in Hermopolis. Among the parallels in papyri, note especially P. Cair. Isid. 58.14 (Arsin., 315), the earliest surviving reference to a Colour (and instance of the word) in Egypt, and CPR VI 63.1 (Hermop., early iv), perhaps the earliest example from the *chora*; see further Remijsen, pp. 205–6. For the Blue faction in Egypt, see especially J. Gascou, *CE* 58 (1983) 226–8 (227 with n. 2 on Oxyrhynchus), and F. Mitthof, CPR XXIII 33.3–4 n.; cf. also A. Cameron, *Circus Factions* (1976) 148, 199; Humphrey, *Roman Circuses* 517–18; LXXVII 5120 3 n.

κάτεχε: cf. Tremel, *MA* 8, 86; p. 150 above.

ἴνα [WBH, who supplies *ἴνα μ[η]* (e.g. *δυναθῶσιν τρέχων*); cf. e.g. Tremel, *MA* 53.18 ff., 43 ff.

6 *Στραβός* WBH; cf. 3, 12.

ἐξορκίζω σε, νεκ[ύδαιμον]. Cf. 7. For the invocation of a ghost of a dead man, see Tremel, *MA* 53.1, 54.1, 56.1, 58.1, 59.1, 61.1 (all of the 2nd/3rd cent., from Carthage); PGM IV 396–7, 2031–2, 2061; XVI 1, 9, 17–18, 26, 33, 43, 53–4, 61, 68; Suppl. Mag. 39.1; 46.14–15; 47.11–12, 14; 49.28, 32–3; 49 back 52–3; 51.2; 57.1; cf. above 3 n. Except in Suppl. Mag. 47, which has the address *νεκ[ύδαιμον] Αντίνοε*, the 'spirit of the dead' carries no name and no epithet. Thus we may assume that after *νεκ[ύδαιμον]* a phrase of the type *κατὰ τοῦ + voces magicæ* occurred, as in PGM XVI 1–3, 26–8, 33–4, 43–6, and 53–5. A similar reconstruction can be proposed for lines 7 and 8.

8 *καταβασ ἀλα. χαλβαβασ: voces magicæ*.

καταβασ: not *καταβάς*. The extended top of the sigma perhaps suggests word-end.

ἀλα.: possibly *αλαλα*, as at Suppl. Mag. 45.40 (one of the Seven Thrones).

8–9 If the supplement proposed for line 10 is right, we have space after *κατὰ τοῦ* or *τῶν* (8) for another divinity. Alternatively, 9 *τατου* could be taken as the end of a superlative, e.g. *κατὰ τοῦ καρτερῶν*]]*τάτου*, but we have not found exact parallels for such a double epithet.

9 *τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ ὄρου*: cf. PGM IV 987–8 *ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, τὸν μέγιστον θεόν, | δυνάστην ὄρον Ἀρποκράτην*; 2031–4 *ἐξορκίζω σε, νεκ[ύδαιμον], κατὰ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ ἀπαραίτητου θεοῦ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ | ὀνομάτων*.

αρχεφρενεφου φριγξ: cf. PGM XXXVI 317–18 *ἐγὼ εἰμι ὄρος ὁ μέγας | ἀρχεφρενεφου φριγγιχ*, IV 505–6 *αρχεφρενεφουφριγγιχ*, XII 347 *αρχεφρενεφουφριγγιχ*, XIII 987 *φριγγξ*.

9–10 If the supplement proposed for line 10 is right, we have space for c.10 letters after 9 ε[ε]. Two possibilities: (i) *νεκ[ύδαιμον] κατὰ* (too long?); (ii) *κατὰ Κουριήλ* (or some other angelic name).

10 *Γαβριήλ Παφαήλ Μιχαήλ Βουήλ* (Γ. WBH). For similar chains of angels see SB XXVI 16369.5–6, PGM XXXVI 171–6; P 21.14–16, 33–5. Another name or names may have preceded at the end of line 9.

ι [: WBH reads *ιπ[* and supplies *ἵπ[πικόν]*, 'hippodrome' (5120 3 n.). Cf. CIP II 1679.14 n.

11 *καὶ δῆσος τοὺς . . .* [WBH, who comments 'δ overlaps the αι ligature. It is not clear what follows *τοὺς*: apparently not *ἵππους*'.

12 *Διδύμη*, l. *Διδύμη* (read by Prof. Bastianini). As in 3, the last letter is uncertain (perhaps λ). *Διδύμη* occurs commonly as a personal name, but not hitherto as a hipponym.

Στραβός. Cf. 3, 6. *στραβός*, 'squinting', is not attested as a name, although it is the root of *Στραβων*.

13 τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν θεῶν: cf. PGM IV 1146–7 and LXII 24.

εμφ. . . [: ἐνφρόβη? For the adjective see PGM IV 359; in PGM XII 54, XIII 873, Suppl. Mag. 46.13, 14, 48]. 15, 49.31, 32, it means 'terrified'.

14 Οὐσίραπιν. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Prot.* 4.48.6; Cyr. Alex. *Juhn.* 1.16.12. On the spelling in Οὐ- see Suppl. Mag. 44.8–9 n.

Οὐσορ Μνευειν Οὐς[WBH; cf. PGM VII 445, XIXa.6. Οὐσίρι Άπι and Οὐσίρι Μνε Φρι appear together in various forms on the 'Sethian' tablets, e.g. Tab. Defix. Aud. 155 A.1–5, 25–6; 163.3–5 (= Tremel, *MA* 74.3–5); cf. Audollent's index, p. 467.

15 τοῦ κυρίου Οὐσερ. [: κύριος is used generally, especially in Syria and Egypt, to express the relation of a god (e.g. Sun, Moon, etc.) to his worshippers: see C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (1950) 172. So Suppl. Mag. 93.3 τῷ κ(υρ)ῷ θεῷ Οὐσί[ριδι.

16 εἶρον: cf. e.g. Tremel, *MA* 17.12, 18.7.

πτωματ[ι. . . [: πτωμάτις?]

17 χ. . . : perhaps χαλ[cf. 8 χαλβαβας.

] . . : the traces, including a long high bar on the right, resemble those of the final letter of Πελη. (3 n.).

αυτορ. [: αὐτούς expected, but the trace after ρ looks more like iota.

H. AMIRAV / G. BEVAN / D. COLOMO

IV. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

5206. PETITION?

88/199(b)

7.3 × 10 cm

233/4

Very little sense can be made of this fragmentary text, but it certainly refers to games and explicitly to an ephebic contest (11). From the imperial titles in 12–13 it can be seen that about half or more of each line has been lost on the right. The line-beginnings are preserved in 6ff., but how much has been lost at the top is wholly uncertain. The text is probably complete at the foot; see 14 n.

ἀξιῶ in 7 suggests that the document is a petition or request made by a single individual, but we know nothing about him or to whom the request was addressed. If we read [ὅ]μειν in 9–10, the addressees were plural. If αὐτόν is right in 5 or 7, the person who makes the request seems to do so on behalf of a third person.

Ephebic games must have taken place in all distinguished Greek cities, since all such cities will have had an ephebate. For a list of cities for which ephebic games are attested see Nigel M. Kennell, *Ephebeia: A Register of Greek Cities with Citizen Training Systems* (*Nikephoros* Beihefte 12; 2006). For Egypt he has entries for some 16 places, including Antinoopolis and Oxyrhynchus. The present document might most naturally be thought to refer to Oxyrhynchus, but in view of Ἀντινοεῦσιν (3), Antinoopolis must also be a possibility. For Antinoopolis see SB IV 7427, V 7605, X 10493, PSI III 199, SEG XXXIV 1552; for Oxyrhynchus see I 42, IV 705 i–ii, IX 1202, XVII 2110, 2127, XLVI 3297, LXV 4491, SB X 10493. There are useful articles on the ephebate in these two cities by K. Rigsby, *CE* 52 (1977) 147–55, and *GRBS* 19 (1978) 239–49. For a general study of the ephebate in Roman Egypt see B. Legras, *Néotés: recherches sur les jeunes Grecs dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine* (1999) 181–251 (239–51 on Oxyrhynchus).

	. c.9 ]..[	c.20
	c.8]γαπ.[	c.18
	c.4]. Ἀντινοεῦσιν[	c.16
	...]γ ἀγῶγα καὶ .[	c.18
5	..]αθῆναι αὐτό[ν	c.17
	τ.[.] γονέων μ[	c.18
	ἀξιῶ αὐτόν δηλ[	c.17
	καὶ .[...]αε ἴε[...]. . . . .[	c.12
	εἰ]πὶ ἀγαθοῖς τελ[...]. . . . .[	c.12
10	μειν τῷ προεληλυθ[ότι	c.15

ἐφηβικὸν ἀγῶνα (vac.) .[.c.15
 (ἔτους)] ἰγ' Αὐτοκρά[το]ρ[ος Καίσαρος Μάρκου
 Α[ὑρ]ηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς
 c.13]...[

2]γαπ[or]ν ἀγαθ[, though the latter seems less likely.

3-4 Ἀντιωοεύειν[. If the document is a petition, it is not impossible that this is part of the description of the addressees, though there is clearly insufficient room to supply παρά, name + patronymic/title after it. One could envisage τοῖς διοικοῦσι | τὸν ἀγῶνα. If the name of the person making the request preceded, he would presumably be their superior, perhaps an official; but a superior would hardly have said ἀξιῶ. Line 11 suggests [τὸν ἐφηβικὸν ἀγῶνα, but there is insufficient room for this if we supply τοῖς διοικοῦσι. Alternatively, the papyrus may have had [τὸν τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγῶνα, as in 1202 7; and there are other possibilities ending -ων: cf. e.g. P. Genova III 107, which has ἰππέων ἀγῶνα and then καὶ ἀγωνιζομένων. Alpha is possible after καί, but phi may also be considered.

5 . .]αθῆναι. 1202 10 has προθεῖναι but προ is impossible here.

αὐτό[ν. αὐτο[ύς is of course also possible, but αὐτω[ν] is much less likely. If we have a petition, one thinks of κατασταθῆναι αὐτὸν/αὐτοὺς πρὸς σε, though one would expect this to come towards the end of a petition, and certainly after ἀξιῶ.

6 νέων gives good sense with reference to ephebes, but we prefer the reading γονέων despite the space between γο and νεων. This would make it attractive to read the common expression ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γονέων μητροπολιτῶν, but it is not at all easy to read ἀμφο|τέρων; τῶ[ν] or αὐ[τῶ]ν] would be easier. The obvious alternative to μ[ητροπολιτῶν] is μ[ου].

7 αὐτόν is a good reading; then δηλ[rather than δημ[. If we read τὸν δημ[όσιον, there is no obvious way to read the two letters before this; σε is hardly possible. δημ[οσία 'publicly' is attractive. If we read δηλ[, some form of δηλώ might be the solution. This might fit better if we do not have a request, although the date ought to indicate that it is not a private letter. On the other hand it is unusual, though not unparalleled, for a petition to have a date like this at the end.

8 ἀ[γῶν]ας seems likely. After that, we have considered reading ἐ[ο]λυμπίου[ς] (cf. e.g. SPP V 70.3-4) but the plural would be unparalleled and the spacing is too tight. The alternative would be ἐ[ε]λαςτικός[ς], which would produce a common expression, but we would have to reckon with an iotacism in a dubious context. At the end of the line there might have stood a reference to the city where the contest took place.

9 ἐπι ἀγαθοῖς. The phrase elsewhere in papyri is normally ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς; the only exception we have noted from Egypt is in the inscription I. Delta 419.13.8-9 ἀνέθηκα ἐπὶ ἀγαθοῖς. The reading after ἀγαθοῖς is far from certain, but τελε[ε]θέν[τας, going with ἀ[γῶν]ας in 8, could make good sense; perhaps games took place in the preceding year (10). At the end of the line and the beginning of the next, perhaps παρ' ἡμῶν (cf. introd.)? (ἡμῶν is of course equally possible).

10 προεληλυθ[ό]τι δωδεκάτω ἔτει τόν would neatly fill the loss in this line, but a figure for the year is at least as likely, and the article could have stood in the previous line instead.

11 If we have a petition, the final trace would most naturally be taken as the top corner of delta for δ[ιευτῆχει].

14]...[: negligible traces. Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ month, day may have stood in this line, in which case there need not have been a further line below it.

R.-L. CHANG / N. GONIS / J. D. THOMAS

5207. RECEIPTS

A. 394 6/2A

23 × 14 cm

Third century

The upper parts of two receipts in the same hand, each taking up a column, with an intercolumnium about 2.5 cm wide. Although many of the details cannot be recovered, what remains is of interest: both receipts are issued by Marcus Aurelius Plutarchus, twice victor in the *periodos* in boxing, no doubt identical to the boxer of this name mentioned by Philostratus; see below, i 1-6 n. The two texts share the same opening, but the preserved lower parts do not seem to tally; see i 11-13 n. To judge by ἀγῶν[ος] (i 12-13) and τ[ῶ]ν γυ[μνικῶν] (ii 11), both receipts may be concerned with preparations for games in the care of Plutarchus, who was appointed as life-long xystarch (i 4 = ii 4) responsible for the agonistic events, as it seems, in Egypt. The host town was not necessarily Oxyrhynchus, though this would be an obvious guess.

The receipts may be dated to the first half of the third century; the back contains, upside down in relation to the text on the front and against the fibres, a badly damaged account of grain written in a third-century hand. To judge from the prevalence of Marci Aurelii in the texts, the date ought to be after 212; the Olympic victory of Plutarchus, conjecturally placed in 205 by L. Moretti, *Olympionikai* (1959) 170, must have preceded by some years his retirement, upon which he was granted the office of xystarch. The mention of the 'baths of the Augustus' (i 5-6, ii 5-6) instead of 'Augusti' may refer to a sole emperor from 212 onwards.

The writing runs along the fibres. There is no visible sheet-join, which is unusual for a stretch of papyrus 23 cm long.

col. i

Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Πλούταρχος πύκτης
 δις περιοδονέικης παλαιστής πα-
 ράδοξος πανκρατι[α]στής πλειστονεί-
 κ[ης] διὰ βίου ξυστάρχης ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ
 5 κύμπα]γτος ξυστοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ βαλανεί-
 ων το]ῦ Σεβαστοῦ διὰ Μάρκου [Α]ὑρηλίου
 c.4]μου τοῦ [κ]αὶ Ἀγαθοῦ [Δ]αίμονος
 c.7 Μάρ]κω Α[ὑρ]ηλίω Θέωνο[ς]
 c.10]φ καὶ ὡς χρηματίξει(?)
 10 χαίρειν. (vac.)] ἔσχον παρὰ c[ο]ῦ εἰς τὸν αὐ-
 τ- c.7 ξυ]σταρχικὸν ὑπὲρ μὲν
 c.14]...[...][...]ου ἀγῶ-
 νος]...ξα

			]. ως
15			] γας
			] δύο
.			
col. ii			
			<i>M</i> άρ[κος Αὐρή]λιος Πλ[ούταρχος πύκτης
			δις π[εριοδον]είνκης [παλαιστής παρά-
			δ[ο]ξ[ος πα]γκρατια[στής πλειστονείκης
			δ[ιὰ] βί[ο]υ ξυστάρχης [ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ κύμ-
5			παντος ξυστοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ βαλανείων τοῦ
			Κεβαστοῦ δι' ἐμοῦ Μάρ[κου Αὐρηλίου] c.4
			μου τοῦ καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ Δ[αίμονος] c.7
			Μάρκω Αὐ[ρ]ηλίω Θέ[ωνι] c.11 -ω
			καὶ ὡ[ς χρημα]τίζει(?) [χαίρειν. (vac.) ἔσχον
10			παρὰ σοῦ εἶ[ς τ]ὸν αὐτ[ο]- c.6 ξυσταρχι-
			κὸν ὑπὲρ [μὲν] τ[ῶ]ν γυ[μνικῶν] c.8
			μάτων [. . . .]. εν. [c.17
			γων καὶ [. . .]. ιεφ[c.17
			. . . [. . .]. ας. υ. [. . .]. . [c.17
.			
	i 2, ii 2	1. περιδοτική	i 3-4, ii 3
	i 8	1. Θέωνι	1. παγκρατιαστής πλειστονείκης
			i 4 ἀρχιερεὺς

(col. i) 'Marcus Aurelius Plutarchus, boxer, twice victor in the *periodos*, wrestler, extraordinary, pancratiast, victor of many games, xystarch for life, high-priest of the entire guild of athletes and overseer of the baths of the Augustus, through Marcus Aurelius —mus also known as Agathus Daemon . . . to Marcus Aurelius Theon . . . and however he(?) is(?) styled, greetings. I have received from you for . . . of xystarch for . . . (col. ii: the gymnastic games . . . two . . .'

col. i

1-6 *M*άρκος Αὐρήλιος Πλούταρχος πύκτης κτλ. Marcus Aurelius Plutarchus, twice victor in the *periodos* in boxing, is to be identified with the Plutarchus known from Philostr. *Her.* 15.4-6, who relates that as a boxer he defeated his opponent, Hermeias the Egyptian, when competing in the Olympic games for the second time as an adult; see Moretti, *Olympionikai* 190 (no. 904), who places the victory in 205, and P. Gouw, *Griekse atleten in de Romeinse Keizertijd* (2009) 355 (no. 117). 5207 shows that as a renowned athlete Plutarchus was granted the prestigious *xystarchia* of the entire community of athletes after retiring from his athletic career. His *praenomen* and *gentilicium* were probably imperial rewards for his victories and are not to be connected with the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212; see D. Hagedorn, *BASP* 16 (1979) 58-9, and cf. the career of the pancratiast M. Aur. Demonstratus Damas, discussed by J.-Y. Strasser, *BCH* 127 (2003) 251-99. His citizenship is unknown.

2 *περιοδορύνκης*, i. -νίκης. For the insertion of nasals before stops, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 118.

5 *κύμπα]γτος ξυστοῦ*. For the supplement, cf. I. Olympia 436.2 (85), Pap. Agon. 6.50 (194) with Frisch's n. Against Frisch's view that the terms *ξυστός* and *κύνοδος* can be used interchangeably, S. Remijsen will argue in a forthcoming monograph that 'the xystic synod was the formal association of athletes, and the *xystos* was the athletic community in general'.

5-6 ἐπὶ βαλανεί[ων τοῦ] Κεβαστοῦ. See Strasser, loc. cit. 297-8.

6 διὰ corresponds to δι' ἐμοῦ in col. ii 6.

6-8 Μάρκων [Α]ὐρηλίου [| c.4]μου τοῦ [κ]αὶ Ἀγαθοῦ [Δ]αίμονος [| c.7]. The identity of this person cannot be ascertained. An obvious guess for the *cognomen* would be Δίδυμος. What followed the alias may have been his father's name or an official title, occupying the beginning of 8 and the end of ii 7.

7 At the end of the line, an ascending oblique follows [Δ]αίμονος after a blank space about two letters long. Its purpose is unclear.

8-9 Μάρ]κω Α[ὐρ]ηλίω Θε[ωνο]ς (l. Θε[ωνι]) [| c.10]ω. The identity of this person cannot be recovered. The last omega may have belonged to an alias introduced by τῷ καὶ or a title, perhaps even preceded by his father's name.

9 χρηματίζει(?) (= ii 9 χρημα]τίζει(?)): or χρηματίζει[ς (cf. e.g. X 1274 5, XIV 1699 3, P. Col. X 283.7).

10 χαίρειν. (vac.) ἔσχον. The *vacat* will have occupied a width of about three letters.

10-11 τὸν αὐ[τ]- c.7 ξυσταρχικόν. The adjective *ξυσταρχικός was not attested previously, but the formation is regular. The gap may have contained the substantive agreeing with it, but the word order would be difficult. I have considered restoring τὸν αὐ[τ]οῦ λόγον ξυσταρχικόν, with αὐτοῦ used for ἐμαυτοῦ (LSJ s.v. *ἐαυτοῦ* ii), but the problem of the word order remains.

11-13 ὑπὲρ μὲν [| c.14] . . . [. . .]ου ἀγώ]γος. ἀγώ]γισμα- would also be possible at the end; cf. ii 11-12 n. On the basis of ii 11-12 ὑπὲρ [μὲν] τ[ῶ]ν γυ[μνικῶν] c.8]μάτων, one could consider restoring ὑπὲρ μὲν | [τῶν γυμνικῶν] c.3] κτλ., but the space available before]ου ἀγώ- would not accommodate the rest, and it is far from certain whether -μάτων could be read anywhere in i 12. Moreover,]ου ἀγώ- does not correspond to the sequence [. . .] εν. [following -μάτων in ii 12. It looks as though the two receipts were concerned with items received for different reasons.

col. ii

3 πα]γκρατια[στής. There may have been a short blank space before this word, given the extent of the lacuna.

11-12 τ[ῶ]ν γυ[μνικῶν] c.8]μάτων: presumably τ[ῶ]ν γυ[μνικῶν] ἀγωνισ]μάτων; for the collocation cf. SEG LVI 1359.24 (134) ἐάν τε μουσικὸν τὸ ἀγώνισμα ἢ <ῆ> γυμνικόν.

14 The short high cross-bar immediately after υ can hardly belong to the previous line. It may have been part of π or τ.

R.-L. CHANG

5208. DIPLOMA OF A HIGH-PRIESTESS OF THE ASSOCIATION
OF DIONYSIAC ARTISTS

81 2B.85/3

11 × 6 cm (upper fr.), 13.1 × 7.6 cm (lower fr.)

Third century

Two fragments, blank on the back, of a letter from the world-wide association of Dionysiac artists notifying its members that a new female member has been enrolled. This is the first piece of evidence for female members of the association. The writing, in a hand of chancery style similar to that of XXVII 2475-6 (Pap. Agon. Pls. II-III), runs against the fibres, suggesting that this is a diploma in the *transversa charta*, double-document format: see E. G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* (1978) 26-53, esp. 28-45. In terms of the format, the closest parallel is P. Lond. III 1178 (p. 214) = Pap. Agon. 6, a boxer's rotulus-diploma of membership of the world-wide association of athletes, written in Naples with an 'outer text' (8-100) and a previously sealed 'inner text' (1-7) summarizing the 'outer text'. The 'outer text' consists in order of imperial decisions concerning the privileges of the members of the association, a circular letter from the association to its members notifying them of the enrolment, the dating formula, and autograph subscriptions by the officials of the association testifying to the recruitment. 5208, drawn up in Antinoopolis and textually paralleled by Pap. Agon. 1.14-16, 3.12-18, 4.15-19, 6.2-7, 37-48, contains parts of the letter and of the dating formula. Pap. Agon. 1.14-26, 3.12-33, 4.15-32 are copies of the circular letters of the diplomas. These copies are referred to as 'double-documents' (διπλή in Pap. Agon. 1.26, 3.33, 4.31) and incorporated into requests, written along the fibres and addressed to local municipalities, for acknowledgement of the privileges imperially granted to the members of the association.

The sequence of the two fragments is guaranteed by the parallel texts. In the combination printed below, the first six lines and much of the seventh are given by the upper fragment, the remainder by the lower. The original line length was about 25 cm, probably the original height of the roll. The position of the lower fragment within the column is given by 12-13: since in all the parallels ἔρρωσθε comes immediately before ἐτελέσθη or the corresponding ἐγένετο, ἐτελέσθη is the first word of line 13, and ἔρρωσθε (12) was followed by a long blank space.

In the transcription, ^v indicates a blank space approximately one letter wide.

α.11] . [α.11] . [. . .] . [. . .] . [α.24
α.10 οἱ]κρο[υμ]ετική λαμπρά μεγάλη σύν[οδος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης
περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ θεοὺς Σεβαστοὺς τεχνιτῶν ἱερονικῶν στεφανιτῶν
καὶ οἱ τοῦ]τ[ω]ν συναγωνισταὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκ[ο]μένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τε-
5 χνίταις ἱερο]νικάϊς στεφανίταις ^v καὶ τοῖς τοῦ]των συναγωνισταῖς χαίρειν.
γινώσκετε] γέμουσαν ἡμῶν τὴν ἱερ[ὰν μουσικήν α.17
α.10] ἦν [. . .] . . . [. . .] . [. . .] . [α.24
α.5] μουθιν τὴν καὶ Σαραπίαδα ἀρχιέρισα[ν α.21
Ἀύρη]λίου Σαραπίωνος ^{v v v v} ἱερονίκου ^{v v v v} [α.22
10 . . καὶ] ἀποδεδωκυῖαν [^v τὸ κατὰ τὸν νόμον βα[σιλικὸν ἐντάγιον (δηνάρια) ὡν καὶ τὰ
εἰς το]ῦς Σεβαστοὺς ἱερὰ τελέσματα πάντα ἐκ [πλήρους. ^{v v} ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν
ἵνα εἰ]δῆτε. ^{v v v v v v v v v v v v v v} ἔρρωσθε. ^{v v v v} [(vac.)
ἐτελέσθη ἐν τῇ λ[α]μ[πρ]ᾷ Ἀντι[ν]ορέω[ν ν]έων Ἐ[λλήνων πόλει ἀγῶνος ἀγομένου
numerals] ἱ[ε]ρο]ῦ εἰ[σε]λαστικῶ οἰ[κου]μενικοῦ ἰσολυμπίου τῶν μεγάλων Ἀντινο-
15 εἰων α.8] . [α.11] . [α.38

4 συνα: α enlarged 6 ἱερ[ὰ 9 ἱερο (diaeresis uncertain) 11 ἱερα

'... world-wide, splendid, great association of the performers from the whole world under the patronage of Dionysus and *divi Augusti*, victors in the sacred games, wearers of garlands, and their co-performers, to the performers from the whole world under the patronage of Dionysus, victors in the sacred games, wearers of garlands, and their co-performers, greetings.

'Know that . . . —muthis alias Sarapias, high-priestess . . . of Aurelius Sarapion, victor in the sacred games . . . is a member of our sacred, artistic . . ., and that she has paid the royal entrance-fee in accordance with the law, 250 denarii, together with all the sacred contributions to the Augusti in full. We wrote to you so that you would know. Farewell.

'Executed in the splendid city of the Antinoeans, the new Hellenes, during the celebration of the . . . sacred, iselastic, global, isolympic games at the great Antinoean festival . . .'

2 λαμπρά μεγάλη σύν[οδος. λαμπρά is not attested elsewhere as an epithet of the association. Cf. 6-7 n. The traces at the beginning of the line are damaged and difficult, but]εγ seems fairly likely.

The qualification ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης is applied to the τεχνίται (nom.) at the opening of the letter in Pap. Agon. 3.12-13 and 4.15 (supplied). In Pap. Agon. 3.14 and 4.33 (both largely supplied), where σύνοδος (nom. or gen.) precedes, we find τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν without ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης, but τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον . . . τεχνιτῶν follows σύνοδος (in various cases) in inscriptions, e.g. SEG XLVIII 1844.1-5 (Apamea), IPh2007 12.27 iii.2-4.

4 καὶ οἱ τοῦ]τ[ω]ν συναγωνισταί: nominative rather than genitive (cf. 4-5 τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκ[ο]μένης . . . καὶ τοῖς τοῦ]των συναγωνισταῖς), but other evidence from the Roman period indicates that the συναγωνισταί belonged to the association: cf. e.g. SEG XLVIII 1844.1-7; S. Aneziri, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft* (2003) 318, 328-31.

6 γινώσκετε] γέμουσαν ἡμῶν τὴν ἱερ[άν. Cf. γεινώσκετε ὄντα ἡμῶν συνοδείτην (Pap. Agon. 6.4, 41). For γέμειν meaning 'be a member of', see Pap. Agon. 1.5 n.

6-7 περ]ιπορλ[ε]ιςτικῆν is possible in 7: π would be the first letter contributed by the upper fragment (which could also be read as τ or τ), the preceding]ι being given by the lower fragment; λ[, also given by the upper fragment, could be taken as Δ. Before it, the text probably contained an adjective formed from an emperor's cognomen and οἰκουμένην: for the imperial title before περιπολιτική, cf. Pap. Agon. 1.26, 3.34, 4.33. The papyrus may have had e.g. τὴν ἱερ[άν μουσικήν imperial adjective | οἰκουμένην] [περ]ιπορλ[ε]ιςτικῆν [λα]μ[π]ρ[άν] μ[εγάλην νόμον: cf. 2. That would leave space for about 6 letters at the end of the line: see next n.

7-8 Supply e.g. Ἀύρηλ[ίαν Θέρ]μουθιν: Θέρμουθιν is by far the commonest female name ending in -μουθιν.

8 ἀρχιέρικα[ν. ἱέρικα and ἀρχιέρεια are familiar, but this form is not found elsewhere. This is the second piece of evidence for a high-priestess in Egypt, after P. Harr. I 69.22 (after 217; context obscure). It is also the only evidence for a high-priestess of the association of Dionysiac artists. This function of imperial cult is well attested in the Greek-speaking world outside Egypt. The bearer of the title is often the wife or, less frequently, the daughter of a high-priest; cf. I. Beroia 69.8 (in an agonistic context), I. Keramos 19.2, 20.2, IPh2007 12.518.5-6. See G. Frija, *Les Prêtres des empereurs* (2012) 64-5, 82-8.

After ἀρχιέρικα[ν, perhaps Ὀξυρυγχίτιδα, though there is only one (partly restored) example of this word, in P. Stras. II 92.3 (244/243 BC). For the indication of citizenship following the title of the enrolled member, see Pap. Agon. 3.16.

After Ὀξυρυγχίτιδα, we may further supply γυναῖκα or θυγατέρα. The filiation of the recruit is never indicated with υἱός in the parallels, but D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 80 (1990) 277-82, observes that the use of υἱός and θυγάτηρ for filiation in Roman times marks the prominent social standing of the fathers. Alternatively, we could supply Μάρκου to go with Ἀύρη]λίου *Καραπίωνος* in the next line.

9 Ἀύρη]λίου. The gap at the start would not accommodate Μάρκου Ἀύρη]λίου. See also previous n. If the initial alpha was enlarged as in *ευναγωνισταί* (10), Ἀύρη]- could fill the space.

Ἀύρη]λίου *Καραπίωνος ἱερονίκου*. This man cannot be identified. Whether he was the husband or the father of the high-priestess (see 8 n.), he ought to have been a high-priest himself; ἀρχιερέως will have followed to the right.

10 τὸ κατὰ τὸν νόμον βα[σιλικὸν ἐντάγιον. The word order shows that βα[σιλικὸν in this phrase goes with ἐντάγιον rather than with τὸν νόμον: contrast Pap. Agon. 1.15 κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν βασιλικὸν ἐντάγιον where the repeated article indicates that βασιλικὸν agrees with νόμον.

(δηνάρια) π̄ν restored as in Pap. Agon. 1.15, 3.16 (previously read as (δηνάρια) ων; see Pl. n); cf. ἐν Ἀττικαῖς π̄ν in Pap. Agon. 4.17, 25 (restored), 27.

10-11 τὰ εἰς το]ῦς Σεβαστοῦς ἱερὰ τελέματα is not a form found elsewhere, but there is already variation attested, Pap. Agon. 3.17 having τὰ εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ σεβαστὰ τελέματα while Pap. Agon. 1.15-16 and 4.17 give τὰ εἰς τὰς τιμὰς τῶν Σεβαστῶν (τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ) ἱερὰ τελέματα; see Pap. Agon. 3.17 n.

11 πάντα ἐκ [πλήρους. No 'all' with τελέματα at Pap. Agon. 1.16 (suppl.), 3.17; Pap. Agon. 4 has πάντα (alone) at 18, and it has been supplied at 25 and 28, but wrongly to judge by the spacing. Cf. π̄ν ἐκ πλήρους attached to the ἐντάγιον in Pap. Agon. 1.15, 3.16, 6.6, 43.

14 The exiguous initial traces may but need not belong to ι or its diaeresis. If the decipherment is correct, the initial gap would be expected to have contained about 7 letters, but if the end of 13 is correctly restored, the ordinal number alone, three letters long, will have stood here. The number will have been generously spaced or accompanied by blank spaces. For the chronology of the great Antinoeia, see Pap. Agon. 4.17 n.

R.-L. CHANG

5209. CONTRACT TO LOSE A WRESTLING MATCH

22 3B.14/C(10-11)a

14 × 17.3 cm

23 February 267

The text of this contract to lose a wrestling match is complete except to the right where it is missing the second half of lines 1-6 and the last quarter of lines 7-18. The writing is along the fibres. The back of the papyrus was used later for a short account of payments to individuals. The hand is a practised cursive with some distinctive features: alpha beginning a word starts with a large ornate loop (also in *Νικαντινώω* in 8); so too initial lambda and mu have extended first strokes. Diaeresis is added over initial ι and υ (but once intervocally: γαιῶ in 4), always in the form of a superscript line with a hook; there is a rough breathing in 22. The string of peculiarities of syntax and grammar in the preface to and first part of the contract, and the variants from normal contractual terminology which follow, suggest that the scribe was not trained in drafting contracts.

The contracting parties are Aurelius Aquila alias Sarap—, the father of a boy wrestler called Nicantinous, and Marcus Aurelius Lucammon and a Gaius Julius . . . , the latter acting through Aurelius Serenus, both guarantors of another boy wrestler called Demetrius. Aquila and Lucammon were Antinoites, but Gaius Julius, if he is to be identified with a known contemporary athlete called Gaius Julius Theon (see 4-5 n.), was an Oxyrhynchite, although the distinction may be slight granted that in this period several leading Antinoites and Oxyrhynchites were active in both cities. Serenus too was an Oxyrhynchite if he was the Marcus Aurelius Serenus also called Ptolemaeus, son of Serenus, who is attested applying in March 264 to the council of Oxyrhynchus for the privileges due to members of the Association of Dionysiac Artists of which he had just become a member and High Priest at the 135th Great Antinoeia (P. Oxy. Hels. 25 = Pap. Agon. 4). The inventory numbers of 5209 and P. Oxy. Hels. 25—22 3B.14/C(14)a + (15)a—reveal that the fragments of that application were found with or very near to this contract. Probably Serenus or Theon(?) had kept the guarantors' copy of this contract, together with other papers including some official documents, at Oxyrhynchus where they were eventually dumped.

The Antinoite origin of Aquila and Lucammon and the date of the contract suggest that it concerns the final match of the boys' wrestling at the 138th Great Antinoeia at Antinoopolis (see Remijsen, p. 193). Demetrius has agreed with Nicantinous to cede the match in return for 3,800 drachmas paid through his guarantors, which implies that they have already received the sum. If Demetrius plays his part but the judges decide not to award the crown, Demetrius is not to be sued for return of the 3,800 dr. If Demetrius contravenes the arrangement, his guarantors are to pay a penalty of 18,000 dr. to Nicantinous. Clearly this is cheating, rather than some 'normal' match-fixing arrangement, for the possibility that the judges decide

not to award the crown (see 14 n.) is viewed as an undesirable embarrassment—'may it not happen'.

The contract is modelled on a *homologia*-agreement for sale in advance of delivery (cf. R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri, 332 BC – 640 AD* (1955) 336–8); two close parallels are P. Mil. II 52 (285) and P. Hamb. I 21 (315), which both, as it happens, involve previous victors at games. However, this contract inverts normal practice in that the person (Aquila) initiating the greeting and contract, probably because he had initiated the deal, is not the seller but the purchaser; hence the lack of the seller's normal subscript acknowledging receipt of the price. As 'boys', which implies they were teenagers, Nicantinous and Demetrius were too young to make a contract in their own names without a guardian. Instead, however, the contract is made for them, with Aquila acting on behalf of his son, while Demetrius is represented by two 'guarantors' (ἐγγυηταί) who do not appear to be relatives and so were probably his trainers. Normally guarantors were required only for loans or appearances at judicial hearings (Taubenschlag, *Law*² 411–14, 542 n. 31); using guarantors to act for a minor is a legal oddity prompted by the peculiar situation.

3,800 dr., which for comparison occurs in 276 also as the price of a donkey (P. Stras. III 139), seems rather little granted that since 264 the Antinoite games had been eiselastic (cf. P. Oxy. Hels. 25) and the winner should have been awarded a cash pension from his home town, if less than the 180 dr. per month current at Hermopolis (see Remijsen, p. 201). Furthermore, the penalty for non-delivery in sales in advance was typically double, sometimes one-and-a-half times, the price. Perhaps the total bribe had been 9,000 dr. (or 12,000 dr., equivalent to the 3,000 Attic dr. in the Philostratus story below), of which Demetrius' guarantors and trainers were pocketing 5,200 dr. (or 8,200 dr.) for money they claimed to have spent or lent for his training.

This is the first known papyrological evidence for bribery in an athletic competition, although scattered references in Greek authors of the Hellenistic and imperial ages imply it was not uncommon. Pausanias' account (5.21, mid second century) of the Zanes, bronze statues of Zeus erected at Olympia from the fines imposed on athletes, records a handful of cases from 338 BC to AD 125, including the father of a boy wrestler of Elis bribing the father of an opponent in 12 BC. Other allusions specifically to fixed results in wrestling matches include Polybius comparing negotiations between Perseus and Eumenes to good wrestlers aiming to draw (29.8.9), and Philostratus saying that Nero's competitors on his Greek tour adopted the technique of ὑποπαλαίοντες, 'wrestlers who fall' ([Luc.] *Nero* 8). Philostratus again recounts a specific case to illustrate the contemporary degeneration of athletics (*Gymnasticus* 45; 220s to 230s): 'A boy won victory in the Isthmian wrestling contest by agreeing three thousand (drachmas) to one of his opponents for the victory. When they came next day to the gymnasium, the latter asked for the money, but

the boy said he did not owe it because the other had resisted being beaten. Nothing was accomplished, so they resorted to an oath and went over to the Isthmian temple. The one who had given away the victory swore in public that he had sold the god's contest and had agreed three thousand for it, and he admitted this speaking in a ringing voice instead of keeping holy silence.' Philostratus supposes bribery was rife in provincial competitions—though unknown, he claims, at Olympia—and blames the trainers, to whom his work is directed, 'who lend money to their athletes at greater rates of interest than the rates for maritime traders, and have no regard for the reputation of the athletes, but become their advisers on buying and selling with a view to their own profits' (only maritime loans were exempt from the Roman 12% limit on annual interest). *Dig.* 4.2.23.2 (Ulpian) also mentions athletes' careers being controlled by their creditors, and *Dig.* 22.2.5 pr (Scaevola) and 42.1.40 (Papinian) too refer to loans to athletes. Whatever the situation between Demetrius and his guarantors, this contract exemplifies the unsavoury practices which had concerned Philostratus.

In editing this text I have benefited from a preliminary transcription and translation made by Dr John Rea, and from comments made by him and others at the British Academy seminar.

Αὐρήλιος Ἀκύλας [ὁ] καὶ Καρά[π] α.14 ἀρχι-
 ιερῆς τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ἀντι[γοέων πόλεως καὶ ὡς χρη(ματίζω)
 Μάρκος Αὐρηλί[ο]ι[ς] Λουκάμ[μ]ωνι α.10 Ἀδριά-
 νιος ὁ καὶ Ὀλύμπιος καὶ Γαῖω Ἰουλίω α.6 , διὰ Μάρκου
 5 Αὐρηλίου Σερήνου καὶ ὡς χ[ρη(ματίζει) ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων? πόλεως,
 ἀμφοτέρους ἐγγυηταῖς Α[ὐρηλίου Δημητρίου α.6
 παλαιστοῦ χαίρειν. ἐπε[ὶ] c[v]νέ[θ]ετ[ο] τ[ῶ]ν υ[ί]ῶν μου Αὐρη-
 λίω Νικαντι[δ]ῶ ὁ [ἐ]γγυητά[μ]ενος ὑφ' ὑμ[ῶ]ν Αὐρήλιος
 Δημήτριος ἀγωνιζόμεν[ο]ς τ[ὸ] τῶν παιδ[ῶ]ν παλαιστῶν?
 10 ἀγώνισμα πεσεῖν τρεῖς καὶ παραχωρῆσαι [. . .] λαμ-
 βάνοντι δι' ὑμῶν ἀργυρίου παλαιοῦ νομίσ[μα]τος δρα-
 χμὰς τριχειλία[ς] ὀκτακοσίας ἀκινδύνους, ἐ[πὶ] τῷ ἐπᾶν,
 ὃ μὴ εἴη, τούτου παραχωρήσαντος καὶ μὴ ἐνδ[έοντος?],
 ἀφιερωθῆ ὁ στέφανος, μὴ μετελεύεσθαι α[ὐτὸν]?
 15 περὶ τούτων, ἐπᾶν δὲ καὶ αὐ[τὸς] ὁ Δημήτρι[ος] παρα-
 βῆ τι τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων καὶ τῶν συντεθ[ε]μένων
 πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν υἱὸν μου, ὁμοίως ἐκτείσειν [τῷ] αὐτῷ
 υἱῷ μου ἐπάναγκες ὑπὲρ λόγου ἐπηρείας ἀρ[γυ]ρί[ου]
 παλαιοῦ νομίσματος τάλαντα τρία ἄνευ τινὸς ὑπερ-
 20 θέσεως καὶ εὐρησιλογίας κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐγγύης δίκαιον διὰ
 τὸ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡμᾶς τὰς συνθήκας πεποιηκέναι. ἡ ὁμο-

λογία κυρία διςῆ γραφεῖσα ἀντίτυπος ἥς ἔσχον μοναχὸν
καὶ ὑμεῖς μοναχὸν καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὁμολόγησα. (ἔτους) ἰδ
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Π[ο]υπλίου Λικιννίου Γαλλιηνοῦ
25 Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Περσικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
Κεβαστοῦ, Μεχειρ κθ̄. (vac.)

2 ἱερεὺς	3 Ἰ. Μάρκω Ἀρηλίω	3-4 Ἰ. Ἀδριανίω τῷ καὶ Ὀλυμπίω
4 γαῖωι[	6 εγ'γνηταῖς	8 [ε]γ'γυ- ὕφ
βάνων	11 ὕμων	10 Ἰ. τρίς
18 ὕω	12 Ἰ. τριχιλίας	10-11 Ἰ. λαμ-
ἐπερωτη' ὁμολοῶ	16 Ἰ. ἐγγεγραμμένων	17 υἱόν
19 ὕπερ-	20 εγ'γυης	22 ἥς
26 Μεχειρ: εἰ corr. from η		23 ὕμεις

'Aurelius Aquila alias Sara[ρ—patronymic, high] priest of the splendid city of the Antinoites [and however I am styled], to Marcus Aurelius Lucam[mon patronymic of the Hadri]ianic tribe and Olympian deme, and to Gaius J[ulius Theon(?) through Marcus] Aurelius Serenus and however he [is styled, of Oxyrhynchus(?) city,] both of them guarantors of A[urelius Demetrius . . .] wrestler, greeting.

'Since he has agreed with [my son Aure]lius Nicantinous—(he being) [Aurelius] Demetrius who has had himself guaranteed by you—when competing in the competition for the boy [wrestlers], to fall three times and yield, [. . .] rec[eiving through you three thousand eight hundred drachmas of silver of old coinage free of risk, on condition that if—may it not happen—although he yields and does not [fail his part?], the crown is reserved as sacred, (we) are not to institute proceedings against him about these things, but if Demetrius himself contravenes any of the written terms and those he has agreed with my same son, likewise you are of necessity to pay as penalty to my [same] son on account of wrongdoing three talents of silver of old coinage without any delay or inventive argument, according to the law of guarantee, because of the fact that we have made a contract on these terms. The agreement is binding, being written in two duplicate copies, of which I have a single one and you a single one, and when formally asked I agreed.

'Year 14 of Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus, Germanicus Maximus, Persicus Maximus, Pius Felix Augustus, Mecheir 29.'

1 No other attestation of an Aquila alias Sarap— is yet known.

3-4 The name Lucammon, an unusual Latin-Egyptian hybrid, is a novelty of the third century, otherwise attested only in XIV 1679 21-2, a private letter concerning a well-off Oxyrhynchite family, and P. Oslo III 120.7, an early fourth-century tax list (the reading in P. Sijp. 12f.14 is very uncertain). Tribe and deme are typically specified in formal documents for Antinoite citizens who have held no civic post. The Olympian deme of the Hadriatic tribe also occurs in P. Diog. 9, P. Köln III 143, VIII 1110, PSI XII 1251 and SB XVI 12744 (171 to 252).

4-5 A Gaius Julius cannot be the son of an Aurelius, so Serenus must be his representative. Neither, it seems, was given his patronymic, another oddity of this preface. The brief cognomen and the role of this Gaius Julius suggest identification with the contemporary athlete, or perhaps one of the two athletes, called Gaius Julius Theon. In March 273 the council of Oxyrhynchus solicited help in running the new Capitolia from the 'amazing' Gaius Julius Theon, triple victor at the (probably Antinoite) Capitolia and High Priest of the local branch of the Athletes' Association (P. Oslo III 85 = Pap. Agon. 8). In 298 a Gaius Julius Theon(?), son of Serenus, of Oxyrhynchus and Antinoopolis and other cities, aged 64, petitioned the Prefect for exemption from liturgies on account of his many victories and old age (5210). These may be the same man. Alternatively, the Theon of 273 may be the same man as the Oxyrhynchite (Gaius) Julius Theon alias Zoilus, son of Gaius Julius Alexander, who

registered for the privileges of the *ius trium liberorum* in March 272 (X 1264), some of whose descendants may appear in IX 1199 (probably 281). The Gaius Julius Theon(?) of this contract could fit in with either combination.

Although the name Serenus was relatively common among the elite, the Serenus here may be identifiable with the gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus, and apparently a nominee for *exegetes*, attested in XII 1413 5, 9, 23 of 272 as well as, or possibly instead of, Marcus Aurelius Serenus in P. Oxy. Hels. 25 of 264 (see above, introd.). If, however, the Serenus here was an Antinoite, line 5 could be completed ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.

6 Either Demetrius' patronymic or perhaps παιδός is expected in the lacuna.

7 συνέθετο is an unusual verb to start a *homologia*-contract, but also occurs in BGU I 286.3 (306). The ἐπεῖ here is unwanted: the contract needs a main verb on which the infinitives in line 10 depend.

8 The name Nicantinous ('victorious Antinous') is another third-century invention, presumably among athletic families at Antinoopolis; cf. the Antinoite victor Aurelius Heraclius alias Nicantinous in XXVII 2476 19, 22 (= Pap. Agon. 3) of 288. Most of the other nine attestations are of the fourth and sixth centuries; the LGPN to date has no case of the name outside Egypt.

9 παλαίστων is expected (cf. Pap. Agon. 7.10, XLIII 3116 12-13 (= Pap. Agon. 10), XXVII 2477 6), but space is tight; possibly πάλης was written.

10-11 Use of the dative λαμβάνοντι shows that the scribe is confusing the two boys and their roles.

11, 19 Some twenty papyri of the 260s to 290s specify payment in 'silver of the old coinage' or, more fully, 'silver of the old Ptolemaic coinage', while around ten specify 'the new coinage', and a few mention both. The phrases seem not to refer to specific coins, but show a fear that either new or old coins might be devalued suddenly. See D. W. Rathbone, 'Monetisation, not Price-Inflation, in Third-Century A.D. Egypt?', in C. E. King & D. Wigg (edd.), *Coin Finds and Coin Use in the Roman World* (1996) 321-39, at 336 n. 41, adding this text and P. Neph. 29 (with p. 3), P. Sijp. 17, PSI VII 841, SB XXIV 16320 (with 15901), and perhaps XVII 2136 and XXXI 2600.

14 If a match was deemed a draw, the judges could either award two crowns or announce no victor and make the crown 'sacred', that is dedicate it to the appropriate deity; see N. B. Crowther, 'Resolving an Impasse: Draws, Dead Heats, and Similar Decisions in Greek Athletics', *Nikephoros* 13 (2000) 125-40, at 130-35, repr. in his *Athletika* (2004) 297-311, at 302-6. This contract suggests that a reason for awarding no crown might be that the judges suspected insufficient commitment to winning on one or both sides.

15 περί τούτων may refer specifically to the 3,800 dr.

20 The phrase κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐγγύης δίκαιον is not otherwise attested in the papyri, but κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἀλληλεγγύης δίκαιον, 'by the law of mutual guarantee', starts to appear in some slightly later contracts involving joint financial obligations on groups of people: SB XIV 12190.17-18 (297) and P. Cair. Isid. 88.[2], 89.10 and 97.13 (all 308); cf. P. Flor. III 384.34, 45 (489) and P. Cair. Masp. II 67126.19, 48 (vi); see Taubenschlag, *Law*² 303-6. Perhaps the inexperienced drafter meant to signify that Lucammon and Theon(?) were jointly liable to the penalty on behalf of Demetrius.

21-3 The phrasing of this clause is closer to third- and fourth-century practice at Hermopolis and Antinoopolis, as for instance in P. Fuad Univ. 23.17-18 (283) ἡ ὁμολογία κυρία διςῆ γραφεῖσα ὁμότυπος πρὸς τὸ παρ' ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν εἶναι μοναχὴν καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὁμολόγησα. Oxyrhynchite clauses begin κυρία ἢ πράξις (or other contract type) and never say ὁμότυπος (the restoration in P. Laur. III 79.17 is unlikely). The use here of ἀντίτυπος in place of ὁμότυπος is probably another non-expert error: in Egypt ἀντίτυπον appears in the fourth century with the specific meaning of 'official copy'; see P. Turner 45.1 n.

5210. PETITION OF A SACRED VICTOR

40 5B.110/H(1-2)a

22.3 × 18.7 cm

298/9

This large sheet, complete on both sides, has suffered some damage at top and bottom, but no line is missing. It contains a copy of a petition, dated to 298/9, from Gaius Julius Theon(?) to the prefect Aelius Publius, requesting his confirmation that Theon is exempt from liturgies on the person both as a sacred victor and because of his old age. Below the petition, separated by a paragraphus, is the 'signature' of the applicant (22) and, in the same hand and ink, the date of the petition (23). The main hand is expert, fluent and clear. A blank space one or two letters wide is sometimes left to mark a strong pause in the sense (3, 4, 11). A *kollesis* is visible about 10.5 cm from the left (it bisects the cross-bar of the tau of τύχη in 18). The back is blank.

The petition is of particular interest as one of the earliest texts to give Diocletian and Maximian the titles of δεσπότης and βασιλεύς (see 16-17 n.), and especially for what it adds to the history of liturgic exemptions in Roman Egypt. Theon claims exemption from ἀχλήσεις ('troubles') and συντέλειαι ('contributions'), a hendiadys for liturgic burdens on the person (see 5-6 n.), on the double grounds that he is a victor in sacred games (ιερονίκης) and that he is over 60 years old, the former as granted by 'the (general) laws' (3, 6) and the latter according to a decision of Diocletian and his co-rulers (6-9). To reinforce their case petitioners for liturgic exemption often adduced more than one ground; P. Wisc. I 3 (c.256-9), for instance, cites athletic victories, old age, and poor eyesight. The package of exemptions from *munera civilia personalia*—liturgic and legal burdens on the person—and other miscellaneous rights claimed in the later third century AD by members of the Association of Dionysiac Artists is attested in three applications to the council of Oxyrhynchus; see P. Oxy. Hels. 25 = Pap. Agon. 4.1-2 (264) with Frisch's notes; cf. S. Aneziri, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft* (2003) 242-52, for the Hellenistic background. In its response to one of these applications the council refers to ἀτέλεια according to the 'general laws' (BGU IV 1073 = Pap. Agon. 2.8-9, 16-17 (274)), which does not mean 'tax-exemption' altogether (land taxes, and perhaps the annual poll-tax, were not excused) but specifically the λειτουργιών δημοσίων ἀτέλεια, the exemption from public liturgies on the person which was the primary interest of the applicants and civic authorities. The same package, more or less, had been granted since Hellenistic times to athletes victorious in sacred games. The fullest discussion, despite new evidence, is still M. Amelotti, 'La posizione degli atleti di fronte al diritto romano', *SDHI* 21 (1955) 123-56 (= *Scritti giuridici* (1996) 325-58); cf. Remijsen, pp. 199-204.

Theon's petition reflects restrictions to the rules recently made by Diocletian. P. Lips. I 44 (= M. Chr. 381, rescript only), a petition in Greek for liturgic exemption

dateable to 324-37, cites a rescript in Latin by Diocletian and his co-rulers, dateable by the Caesars to 293-304, in response to a petition of the association(s?) of athletes and artistic performers. The rescript, in addition to its lacunae, includes various errors and corrupt passages and a couple of deliberate gaps which suggest that the scribe had limited Latin and was copying from a badly damaged text. Diocletian says that, although he normally confirms without restriction privileges granted by his 'ancestors' (*parentes*), in order to stop specious claims by victors to *munerum civilium personalium immunitas*, as the association requests, exemption is limited to those who have competed throughout their life and won at least [three?] crowns in 'noble' contests, including [one?] of those at Rome (i.e. the Capitoline games) or of 'ancient' Greece, or those with 'our approval(?)' whose full description is now irrecoverable, perhaps games to which emperors had granted status equal to the Capitoline or ancient Greek games (see 11-14 n.); other now largely illegible lines apparently qualified or added to these conditions. *CJ* 10.54.1 records a similar response by Diocletian and the same co-rulers to a Hermogenes: 'Athletes are normally awarded the *civilium munerum vacatio* on these terms, if they have competed through all their life, and can prove they have been deservedly crowned with no fewer than three crowns of a sacred contest, including once either at Rome or in ancient Greece, without corrupting or paying off their rivals.' Mitteis (P. Lips. 44 introd.), followed by Amelotti ('La posizione' 151-3), took these as separate rulings because the addressees and some of the conditions differ, but Hermogenes may have been the governor of Asia attested c.286-305 (*PLRE* I p. 424) to whom the response might well have been copied, and the differences can be explained by the poor state of the papyrus text and the evident compression of the Code version, by whose time these contests were a historical curiosity; in fact the title 10.54 'For athletes' contains only this ruling. Even if they were separate rulings, the conditions should have been the same, as Mitteis noted, which Theon's petition confirms in that it seems to echo all the conditions from both versions: certainly a lifetime career (14-16 n.), and apparently several(?) victories in sacred contests (2 n.), winning victories by merit and being a victor at some special games (both 11-14 n.). It thus shows that Diocletian's response to the association must date from 293-8.

Diocletian's conditions look new in that they are not explicitly attested in earlier texts; as recently as 292 the council of Oxyrhynchus had excused a man from service as a judge in the Prefect's court on the bald assertion that he was a sacred victor (I 59). The requirement that the victories had been fairly won was presumably not new, at least in spirit, and earlier texts talk of winning deservedly (see 11 n.). How novel and restrictive the requirement was for at least one high-status victory depends for athletic victors on the unclear third category of qualifying games; for artistic performers, who had previously claimed exemption on the basis of admission to their association, it depends what the conditions for that admission had been. On the other hand, for performers a lifetime in competition was

feasible, whereas the documented careers of successful athletes in the first to third centuries had for obvious physical reasons rarely lasted beyond the age of thirty: see P. Gouw, *Griekse atleten in de Romeinse Keizertijd (31 v. Chr. – 400 n. Chr.)* (2009) 161–4. Amelotti ('La posizione' 152) assumed Diocletian meant 'lifetime' in the sense of physical capability, but if Theon was, as he claims, 64 in 298/9 and had competed under Diocletian, his career—in whatever discipline—had lasted into his 50s. So too the petitioner to unknown emperors for an official post as 'herald' in PSI XIV 1422 ii claims to be over 50 and to have spent 28 years as a competitor (*ἀγωνιστής*), presumably as a herald although the editor (Amelotti) assumed he was an athlete. This undated text, assigned in PSI XIV to the third century, must date, as Amelotti had earlier suspected ('La posizione' 153), to Diocletian: the herald is to serve the procuratorship of the Heptanomia, which replaced the *epistrategia* around 300 (see L 3573 introd.); addressing a petition of this local type to emperors implies their presence in Egypt, which points to Diocletian on his second visit in 301/2: cf. T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (1982) 55 (Constantine did not visit Egypt); the emperors' predecessors who reserved the heraldship for retired competitors are called 'ancestors' (*πρόγονοι*), as in P. Lips. 44 ii.5 (which, incidentally, shows that the post was originally herald to the epistrategus); the petitioner claims a lifetime career and victories in contests in the emperors' honour in almost exactly the same terms as Theon does here (11–14 n., 15 n.).

Liturgic exemption for old age in Roman Egypt is discussed most fully and recently by T. G. Parkin, *Old Age in the Roman World: A Cultural and Social History* (2003) 144–54. He concludes that over 70 was the standard requirement (for the poll-tax it was over 62, then 65 by the third century) up to at least 294, when it is attested in *CJ* 10.32.10, Diocletian's response on an individual case of a man aged over 70 addressed to his provincial governor. Parkin notes, however, that the petitioner in PSI X 1103.5–14 of 192–4, who says he is over 70, claims that previous prefects and procurators (meaning epistrategi?) have allowed exemption from liturgies to those over 65. A response by Constantine of December 324 to a petitioner aged 73 from Egypt, cited in SB XVI 12306 (= VI 889, mistakenly attributed to Diocletian; see Barnes, *New Empire* 234–6), confirms exemption from some kinds of fiscal exactions (the text is very fragmentary) for those over 60. It seems there may have been confusion between the different thresholds for exemption from poll-tax (the upper age limit for the capitation tax which replaced the poll-tax in Egypt in the 250s is unknown, as is that for the Diocletianic *capitatio*), liturgies and service as a councillor, and also variation between provinces: *CJ* 10.32.10 may not have applied to other provinces, at least when first issued, and Theon seems to distinguish Diocletian's concession on age from the 'general (empire-wide) laws' about sacred victors although, as we know, Diocletian had recently amended those too. The simplest interpretation of the available evidence is that in Egypt the normal threshold for exemption from liturgies had been 70 until, as Theon's petition now

tells us, Diocletian reduced it to 60, perhaps in 297 along with the introduction of *capitatio* (up to that age?), and that this was confirmed by Constantine. However, the common story of all the petitions in the papyri and the Codes is that officials under pressure to nominate liturgists often tried to ignore the rights to exemption rightly or wrongly claimed by some nominees, and that even those claiming exemption for old age tended to assert they were over 70 despite the supposed lowering of the threshold.

The text, translation and notes are in the main the work of Professor Maltomini. Professor Rathbone has contributed the historical parts of the introduction and the notes to 11–14 and 16–17.

Αἰλίω Που[βλι]φ τῷ διαση[μοτάτῳ] ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου
 παρὰ Γαῖου Ἰου[υλίου] . . .]νος Σερήνου ἱερον[ε]ικ[ο]υ πλειστονείκου παραδόξου Ὁξυρυγγίτου
 καὶ Ἀντινοέω[ς καὶ ἄ]λλων πολλῶν πόλεων πολέιτης. (vac.) νόμοις αὐτοῖς καθολικοῖς
 καὶ τῇ σῆ περι[πάντ]α ἐμπειρία τὴν δέησιν ταύτην ποιοῦμαι. (vac.) εἰδ' οἶδ' ὅτι παρὰ τῆς σῆς
 5 φιλανθρωπίας τεύξομαι ὡν ἰκετεύω. ἱερ[ο]νίκας τοῖνον μὴ ὑπάγεσθαι ὀχλήσεσιν ἢ τινας
 συντελείαις, ὡς οἴεσθαι, διηγόρευται ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ὡσαύτως καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δεσποτῶν
 ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνστ[α]ντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τοὺς ἐξήκοντα ἔτη βίου χρόνον κατάγοντας ἀπο-
 λελύεσθαι παντοίας πάσης συντελείας καὶ ὀχλήσεως, ὡς ἄρα μοι τῶν ἐξ ἑκατέρου
 10 μέρους ὑπαρχόντων δικαιωμάτων ἐνλίπεσθαι τι οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ σύμφηφον γενέσθαι
 τὸ σὸν μεγαλεῖον. (vac.) ἱερονείκης τοῖνον τυγχάνω, ἐνδόξως καὶ εὐπρεπῶς τοὺς ἱεροὺς
 ἀγῶνας τοὺς ὑπὲρ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τῶν δε[ε]σποτῶν ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμι[α]νοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
 Καισάρων ἀνεδηράμην. δεῦρο δὲ εἰς γῆρας ἀφειγμένον μετὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν
 15 καὶ τὴν ἐν ταύτῃ πρὸς ἐμοῦ ἄσκησιν καὶ χρόνον [. . .]νος βίου ἐτῶν ἐξήκον-
 τα καὶ τεσσαρῶν ὡς κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον εὐεργετ[ε]ῖσθαι τῇ θεῖα διαγορεύ[ε]ι τῶν
 μεγίστων ἡμῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἐπιφ[αν]εστάτων Καισά[ρ]ων δέ[ο]μαι ὡν ἄνθρωπος
 μέτριος καὶ ἀξιώ, εἰ σοι δοκεῖ τῇ τύχῃ, [α.14], οὐ ἐ[π] ἀμ[φοτέροις] τούτοις
 μοι ἐπινεύσαι καὶ δι' ἱεράς σου ὑποχ[ρα]φῆς κελεῦσαι ἔχ[ε]ιν με τὸ ἀπαρηνόχλητον
 20 κατὰ τινα τρόπον ἵνα καὶ αὐτ[ὸ]ς τυχῶν τ[ῆ]ς ἀπὸ σοῦ εὐερ[γε]σίας χάριτας τὰς μεγίστας
 τῇ ἀνυπερβλήτῳ σου τύχῃ (vac.) [ὁμολογήσω. (vac.) διευτ]ύχει. (vac.)
 (m.2) Γάιος Ἰούλιος [α.7] . . . [] (vac.)
 ἔτους ἐ[] [] (vac.)

2 γαίουιο[ς], ἱερο-, οξυρυγ' χειτου 1. ἱερονίκου, πλειστονείκου, Ὁξυρυγγίτου 3 1. πολίτου
 5 ἰκετευω[ι]ερ[ε], ὑπάγεσθαι 6 ὑπο (second) 10 ὑπαρχόντων 1. ἐλλείπεσθαι, σύμφηφον
 11 ἱερονείκης, τυγ' χανω, ἱερούς 1. ἱερονείκης 12 ὑπερ 14 1. ἀφειγμένος 19 between
 δι and ἱερας, a short stroke at mid-height (accidental? an apostrophe?) ἱερας, ὑπο- 20 ἵνα
 21 ἀνυπερ- 22 γαίουσιουλιος

'To Aelius Publius, *vir perfectissimus*, prefect of Egypt, from Gaius Julius Theon(?), son of Serenus, sacred victor, victor many times, the amazing, Oxyrhynchite and Antinoite and citizen of many other cities. I make this request to the general laws themselves and to your experience in all matters. I know well that I shall obtain from your humanity the object of my appeal. Now, that sacred victors should not be subjected to troubles or certain contributions has, as you know, been declared by the laws, as also it has by our masters Diocletian and Maximian the Augusti and Constantius and Maximian the most noble Caesars, that those passing a sixty-year span of life have been released from any contribution and trouble of any kind, so that of the existing justifications on both sides nothing else is somewhat lacking for me except that your Magnificence give his consent. Now, I am, as it happens, a sacred victor: I tied on the wreath gloriously and majestically at the sacred games for the victory and the everlasting perpetuity of our masters Diocletian and Maximian the Augusti and Constantius and Maximian the most noble Caesars. Having arrived here at old age, after my prime and the training on my part during that time, and after a [total(?)] lifetime of sixty-four years, so that according to this right I am to benefit from the divine declaration of our greatest kings and most noble Caesars, I ask, being a person of modest means, and request, if it pleases your Genius, that [in accordance with your goodwill(?)] you nod assent to me on both these grounds, and order through your sacred subscript that I may have freedom from trouble in some way, in order that I too, having experienced your beneficence, may acknowledge the greatest thanks to your unsurpassed Genius. Farewell.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Gaius Julius . . .

'Year 15 . . .'

1 Aelius Publius was the first prefect of Egypt after the 297/8 revolt of Domitius Domitianus. He and Diocletian had been at Oxyrhynchus in May-June(?) 298 according to XII 1416 (with Barnes, *New Empire* 54-5). By some time in 300 he was replaced by Claudius Cleopatrus (XLVI 3301-3303 introd.). Aemilius Rusticianus, also attested in 298 apparently at Oxyrhynchus, was not the previous acting prefect but a deputy praetorian prefect (XII 1469 1 n.; cf. BL X 142), presumably accompanying Diocletian.

2 Γαίου Το[υ]λίου . . .]νος: Θέω]νος? For other attestations of one or two Oxyrhynchite athletes of this period called Gaius Julius Theon, see 5209 4-5 n.

ἱερων[ε]ίης. See 5211 ii 7 n.

πλειστονείκου. According to R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 14 (1974) 95f. (= *Philologica* (1997) 499), this was an official title accorded only after a definite number of victories in certain specified contests, but see Gouw, *Griekse atleten in de Romeinse Keizertijd* 127-9. The combination of ἱερωνείης and πλειστονείης was probably intended to imply that Theon had won the required three sacred victories, but does not prove it since πλειστονείης could include non-sacred victories.

παραδόξου. The meaning of the epithet is disputed. Against the opinion of Merkelbach, loc. cit. 94f., that the title was not generally eulogistic but was reserved for persons who on one day were victorious in two different disciplines or age-groups, see the criticisms of Gouw, op. cit. 123-6.

3 καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν πόλεων πολέτης: an honorific appellation of victors of games in Egypt (XXVII 2476 = Pap. Agon. 3.32, 48 (288)) as well as in other parts of the Greek world (there are numerous epigraphic parallels).

νόμοις . . . καθολικῶς, as in Pap. Agon. 2.9 and 16-17 (274), means laws valid throughout the empire; cf. the docket on the verso of the copy of Diocletian's edict in P. Lips. I 44 ii [haec] *sententia ubi cum[que] servabitur*.

4 τῆς καὶ περὶ [πάντ]α ἐμπειρία. Universalizing the qualities of the addressee of a petition was common, but ἐμπειρία is new to the repertoire in the Greek papyri and inscriptions. For the use of forms of πᾶς *ad captandam benevolentiam* in petitions, see J.-L. Fournet, *JJP* 28 (1998) 14 with n. 27.

τὴν δέησιν ταύτην ποιούμαι. Cf. SB III 7205.4 (c.290-92) ταύτην τὴν δέησιν . . . π., and P. Diog. 18.12 (225) τήνδε τὴν δέησιν π.; also P. Harr. I 63.4 (ii, but after 161) and SPP V 6.1 (266-8?).

ἐδ' οὐδ' ἔστι. More often the petitioner says he is confident (εὐελπις) that the recipient will answer his requests; cf. P. Diog. 18.6-7, P. Cair. Isid. 67.4-5 (299), I 71 3-4 (303), P. Col. VII 173.4-5 (after 342; see BL X 41). These statements aim to stimulate the benevolence of the addressee.

5-6 ὀχλήσειν ἢ τις συντελείαις. Cf. 9. ὀχλήσις and ἐνόχλησις are standardly used to denote the 'trouble' of liturgies or legal summonses, normally specified in the genitive as e.g. in P. Mich. XIV 675 = SB XVI 12994.16 (241) τῆς τῶν λειτουργιῶν ἐνοχλήσεως; cf. P. Lips. 44 i.5 (324-37) ἐνοχλείσθαι.

5 ὑπάγεσθαι. For the meaning 'to be subject' to taxation or the like, cf. VIII 1119 24, 28 (245); P. Panop. Beatty 1.371, 401 (298).

6 διηγόρευται ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων. Cf. P. Cair. Isid. 62.20 (297) τοῦτο γὰρ διαγορεύεται ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων (normalized spelling).

δεσποτῶν. Cf. 12, and 16-17 n.

8 τοὺς ἐξήκοντα ἔτη βίου χρόνον κατάγοντας. The first occurrences of the use of κατάγω for computation of age are found in Vettius Valens in the second century: 4.9 ἔστω τινὰ [κατὰ] γένεσιν λγ' ἔτη κατάγειν, 4.11, 4.30 κατάγει τις ἔτη κη' (pp. 160.12f., 168.19, 197.3 Pingree) etc.; cf. also Epiph. *Ans.* 110.5 Ἰσὰκ γεννᾷ τὸν Ἰακώβ κατάγων ἔτος ἐξηκοστόν, *Haer.* 55.6.5 (ii.331-2 Holl), etc. ἐξήκοντα ἔτη and βίου χρόνον appear to be in apposition (see KG I 265; at 15-16 here we have the construction with the genitive); alternatively, we could read ἐξηκονταετή, to agree with χρόνον.

9-10 ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους: i.e. age and status as ἱερωνείης.

10 ἐνλίπεσθαι τι οὐδὲν ἕτερον. The word order indicates that the adverbial τι modifies the preceding verb, not οὐδέν.

κύνηφον γενέσθαι. Cf. XXXIV 2711 7 (271) and PSI V 452.23 (iv, first half); also XXVII 2477 12 (289) and XVII 2110 28 (370).

11 ἐνδόξως καὶ εὐπρεπῶς. Cf. SPP V 121 = Pap. Agon. 7.9 (268?) ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐναρέτως; XLVII 3367 = Pap. Agon. 9.8-9 (272) ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιφανῶς. On ἐνδόξως see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 351-8. The phrasing also parallels *merito coronati* in *CJ* 10.54.1, and again asserts that Theon's victories were won 'deservedly' as required by Diocletian's edict.

11-14 τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας . . . ἀνεδηγάμην. Cf. Athenaeus 9.28 (382B) ὁ πρῶτος τῶν τῶν Ὀλυμπιασῶν ἀγῶνα ἀναδηγαμένων.

The petitioner in PSI XIV 1422 ii.12-14 (c.301/2?; see above, introd.) also claims to have competed ἐν τοῖς ἀγομένους ἀγῶσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑμῶν νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς and the same dedication is used of the penteteric Capitolia at Antinoopolis in Pap. Agon. 9.4-8 and those at Oxyrhynchus in LXIII 4357 4-7 (317). XLIII 3116 = Pap. Agon. 10.8 (275/6) instead gives the dedication of the Antinoite Capitolia as ὑπὲρ νείκης κα[α]ἰ [ἀ]ιδίου[ν] κ[ρά]τους of the emperor. Epigraphic dedications ὑπὲρ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς of emperors, sometimes prefaced with ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας, sometimes with a synonym for αἰωνίου, are common in the eastern provinces, with some too in the west, through the second and third centuries (PHI *Searchable Greek Inscriptions*), but an exact Latin equivalent is only attested once (*Epigraphische Datenbank Claus-Slaby*): *pro salute et victoria et perpetuitate* (CIL III 3637, to Caracalla by a governor of Pannonia Inferior). The standard Latin dedication was *pro salute et aeternitate imperii*, to which the less popular Greek alternative ὑπὲρ αἰδίου κράτους is closer. These two alternative forms of dedication may have been specific to Capitolia, that is, games granted equal status to the Capitoline games at Rome. The dedication of the Capitoline Games as refunded by Domitian in 86 is unknown, but Nero's penteteric predecessor was celebrated *pro aeternitate imperii* (Suetonius, *Nero* 11.2) or ὑπὲρ δὲ δὴ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς τε διαμονῆς τοῦ κράτους (Dio 61.21.1). Theon would then be claiming victory at one of the Capitolia in Egypt (see Remijsen, p. 195), which would support the idea that these were among the third category of high-status games specified in Diocletian's edict.

14-16 δεῖρο δὲ . . . τεσσάρων. The syntax of the phrase is not immediately clear.]νος is

probably the ending of an adjective (or participle) agreeing with βίου ([τοῦ πα]ντός?), while ἀφειγμένον should stand for ἀφινγμένον. (Dr Henry takes it to be in agreement with με in 19.)

14 δεῦρο. We would want a meaning 'now', but δεῦρο of time signifies 'until now, hitherto' (LSJ s.v. II), which will not suit. Probably 'having arrived here (= at this point in my life, i.e.) at old age'.

εἰς γῆρας ἀφειγμένον. Cf. PSI 1422 ii.19-21 εἰ[π]εῖ γὰρ ἤδη ὑπὲρ πενήκοντα ἔτη προβαίνω τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ εἰς γῆρας τρέπομαι; P. Sakaon 40.12 (318-21) ἤδη εἰς γῆρας μακρὸν ἐληλυθῆα.

15 ἄκκησις is commonly used of professional 'training', including that of athletes and performers, as also in PSI 1422 ii.29-30, and P. Vindob. G 24715.8-9 (c.343), ed. F. A. J. Hoogendijk, *Pap. Congr. XXVI* (2012) 349-56; cf. 2477 6.

16 διαγορεύ[ε]ι. This is the first occurrence of the noun in the papyri, although the verb διαγορεύομαι, found in Ptolemaic papyri, re-appears under Diocletian: see above, 6 n.

16-17 The earliest precisely dated text to give Diocletian and Maximian the titles of δεσπότης (here in 6 and 12) and βασιλεύς is P. Cair. Isid. 2.6-7 of 1 December 298: προστάγματι τῶν δεσ[ποτῶ]ν ἡμῶν τῶν ἀνεκλήτων βασιλέων (the standard phrasing). The two terms had occasionally been used informally of previous emperors. Their formal use began in citations of imperial decisions, as here by Theon and in P. Cair. Isid. 2, which suggests copying from the official preface to the decisions. It soon spread to the imperial oath, and from 307 to consular datings. For δεσπότης see D. Hagedorn and K. A. Worp, 'Von κύριος zu δεσπότης: eine Bemerkung zur Kaisertitulatur im 3./4. Jhd.', *ZPE* 90 (1992) 165-72; also K. Maresch, 'Die Präsentation der Tetrarchie in den Papyri der Tetrarchenzeit', in D. Boschung and W. Eck (edd.), *Die Tetrarchie: ein neues Regierungssystem und seine mediale Präsentation* (2006) 63-82.

17-18 ἄνθρωπος μέτριος. Reference by petitioners to their moderate condition is a *topos*; see A. Papathomas in E. Karamalengou and E. Makrygianni (edd.), *Ἀντιφίλησις: Studies . . . in Honour of J.-Th. A. Papademetriou* (2009) 494.

18 A phrase such as [κατὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν] σου would suit.

εἰ[π] ἀμ[φ]οτέρους: cf. 9-10 ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους.

19 ἔχ[ε]ν με τὸ ἀπαρενόχλητον. ἀπαρενόχλητος is common in the papyri, but the combination with ἔχ[ε]ν only recurs in XXXVIII 2849 22 (296) πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι με τὸ ἀπαρενόχλητον ἔχ[ε]ν.

21 τῇ ἀνπερβλήτῳ σου τύχη. This is the first occurrence in the papyri of ἀνπερβλήτος with τύχη, but it is found three times in Vettius Valens: 4.11, 6.2, 9.2 (pp. 166.20, 233.22, 319.2 Pingree).

22 [c.7] . . . [. For the *cognomen* see above, 2 n. At the right-hand edge of the break, there is a low trace, then a curve open to the right and joining a trace suggesting the top of an upright. Two uprights follow, of which the first is slightly turned leftwards and the second rightwards. Neither the expected ἐπιδέδωκα nor Σερήνου can be read.

23 The text must have run 'Year 15 of Diocletian, 14 of Maximian, and 7 of the Caesars', but there is more than one way in which this could have been worded.

F. MALTOMINI / D. W. RATHBONE

5211. LOAN OF MONEY

96/9(a)

21.7 × 26.6 cm

27 February 303

An uncut duplicate document preserved in eight main pieces. The writing runs parallel to the fibres and the back is blank. The left half is less well preserved than the right. The papyrus was folded from left to right. There are seven roughly equidistant creases along the length of the papyrus that produce long vertical

cracks along which pieces have broken off on the left-hand side. There is ample space below the subscription (9.6 cm deep). The intercolumnium measures 1.5 cm.

A certain Aurelius Euporion, sacred victor from Oxyrhynchus, grants a loan of 3 talents and 2,160 drachmas to Aurelius Heras, comarch of the village of Taampemou. The sum has been signed for on 3 Phamenoth (27 February) and is due back on 30 Pharmouthi (25 April). No interest formally accrues during this period, but there is an indication that the capital hides a usurious rate of interest (see 10 n.). Should the loan not be returned on time, Heras is to pay the stipulated interest of 1% per month.

The *ιερονίκης* Euporion is new. Heras son of Paapis is identifiable in a published document, although he is not explicitly designated as a comarch there (see 3 n.).

col. i

ἐπὶ ὑπ[α]ρ[χ]ῶν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκ[ρα]τοράων

Διοκλητ[ι]α[νοῦ] τὸ η' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ ζ' Σεβαστῶν.

Αὐ[ρ]ῆλιος Ἡ[ρ]ᾶς Παάπιος μη(τρὸς) Ταμού[ν]ιος ἀπὸ κώμης
Ταανπεμο[υ] τῆς πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην το]π(αρχίας) τοῦ Ὀξυρυγί-

5 [του] νομοῦ κώ[μα]ρχος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιθ' καὶ ιη'

καὶ ια' (ἔτους) Αὐ[ρ]ῆλι[ω] Εὐπορίωνι Ἀφύγγ[ι]ος ἀπὸ τῆς

λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυγίτων πόλ[ε]ως ἱερονί-

κη χαίρειν. ὁμολ[ο]γῶ ἐσχηκέναι πα[ρὰ] σοῦ ἐν χρήσι

διὰ χιρὸς ἐξ οἴκου σου ἀργυρίου Σεβαστο[ύ] νομίσματο[ς]

10 τάλαντα τρία καὶ δραχμὰς διςχιλίας ἐ[κατ]ὸν ἐξήκοντα,

γ(ίνονται) (τάλαντα) γ (δραχμαὶ) Βρξ', ἅπερ ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώ[ς]ω σοι ἕως λ' τοῦ

Φαρμουθι μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος [ι]θ' καὶ ιη' καὶ ια' (ἔτους)

ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερθέσεως καὶ εὐρησιλογίας, εἰ δὲ

μή, ἐκτίσω σοι τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου τόκον

15 τὸν σταθέντα ἐκάστης μῆνας τοῦ μηνὸς ἐ[κ]άστου,

γνομένης σοι τῆς πράξεως παρὰ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν

ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων. κύριον τὸ χιρόγραφον

διςδὸν γραφὲν πανταχῇ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παν-

τι τῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι καὶ ἐπερωτηθῆς ὑπὸ σοῦ

20 ὁμολόγησα. (ἔτους) ιθ' καὶ (ἔτους) ιη' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν

Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ (ἔτους) ια' {(ἔτους)} τῶν κυρίων

ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν

ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων, Φαμενωθ γ'.

(m.2) Αὐρήλιος Ἡρᾶς Παάπιος ἔσχον ἐπὶ χρήσι

25 τὰ τοῦ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τρία καὶ δραχμὰς

δισχιλίαις ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἀποδώσω
ὡς πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερωτηθῆς ὡμολόγησα.
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Σερήνος ἔγραψα ὑπ(έρ) αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότης
γρά(μματα).

col. ii

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων
Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ η' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ ζ' Σεβαστῶν.
Αὐρήλιος Ἡράς Παάπιος μη(τρὸς) Ταμούνιος ἀπὸ κώμης
Τααμπέμου [τ]ῆς πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην τοπ(αρχίας) τοῦ Ὁξ[υρυγ]χίτου
5 νομοῦ κώμ[αρ]χος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἰθ' καὶ ἡ' κα[ί] ια' (ἔτους)
Αὐρηλίω Εὐπ[ο]ρίωνι Ἀφύγγιος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ
λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως ἱερονίκη χαίρειν. ὁμο-
λο[γ]ῶ ἐσχη[κ]έναι παρὰ σοῦ ἐν χ[ρ]ήσι διὰ χιρ[ός] ἐξ οἴκου
σου ἀργυρί[ου] Σεβαστο[ῦ] ν[ο]μίματ[ο]ς τάλαν[τα] τρία
10 καὶ δραχμὰς δισχιλίαις ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα, [γ(ίνονται)] (τάλαντα) γ (δραχμαὶ) Βρξ',
ἄπερ ἐπαναγκες ἀποδώσω σοι ἕως λ' τοῦ [Φ]αρμου-
θι μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἰθ' καὶ ἡ' καὶ ια' (ἔτους) ἄν-
ευ πάσης ὑπερθέσεως καὶ [ε]ύρησιλογίας, εἰ δὲ μὴ,
ἐκτίσω σοι τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου τόκον τὸν
15 σταθέντα ἐκάστης μνάς τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου, γινομέ-
νης σοι τῆς πράξεως παρὰ τε ἐμοῦ [καὶ] ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-
χόντων μοι πάντων. κύριον τὸ χιρ[ό]γραφον διςδὸν
γραφὴν πανταχῆ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπ(έρ)
σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι καὶ ἐπερωτηθῆς ὡμολόγησα. (ἔτους) ἰθ' καὶ
20 (ἔτους) ἡ' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ
Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ (ἔτους) ια' {(ἔτους)} τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν
ἐπιφανεστάτων Καϊσάρων, Φαμενωθ γ'.
(m.2) Αὐρήλιος Ἡράς Παάπιος ἔσχον ἐπὶ χρήσι τὰ τοῦ
25 ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τρία καὶ δραχμὰς δισχιλίαις
ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἀποδ[ώ]σω ὡς πρόκειται
καὶ ἐπερωτηθῆς ὡμολόγησα. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Σερήνος
ἔγραψα ὑ(πέρ) αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότης γρά(μματα).

col. i

1 ὑπα[των] 4 π of Τααμπέμου corr. from ν, [το] 1. Τααμπέμου 4-5 Ὁξυ-
ρυγ'χι[του] 6 ια', Αφύγγ[ιο]ς 7 λαμ', λ[αμ] 7-8 ἱερονίκη
8 εν corr. from εσ 1. χρήσει 9 λ. χειρός 11 γ'γ'βρξ' 12 ια' 13 ὑπερ-

θεσεως 14 ὑπερπεσοντος 1. ἐκτίσω 17 ὑπαρχοντων 1. χειρόγραφον 19 ὑπερ,
ὑπο 1. ἐπερωτηθείς 20 L bis 21 Λιας' 24 λ. χρήσει 27 λ. πρόκειται,
ἐπερωτηθείς 28 Αυρ, υ' 29 γραβ

col. ii

3 μη 4 το? 1. Τααμπέμου 5 ια' 6 Αφύγγ'χιος, λαμ' 7 λαμ',
ἱερονίκη 8 λ. χρήσει, χειρός 10 γ'γ'βρξ' 11 επαναγ'κες 12 ια[ς]' 13 ὑπερ-
θεσεως 14 ὑπερπεσοντος 1. ἐκτίσω 16-17 ὑπαρχοντων 17 λ. χειρόγραφον
18 ὦ? 19 λ. ἐπερωτηθείς 19, 20 L 21 Λιας' 24 λ. χρήσει 26 λ. πρόκειται
27 Αυρ' 1. ἐπερωτηθείς 28 υ', γραβ

'Under the consuls our lords Imperatores Diocletianus for the 8th time and Maximianus for the 7th time, Augusti.

'Aurelius Heras son of Paapis, his mother being Tamounis, from the village of Taampemou in the Eastern Toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, comarch of the current year 19 and 18 and 11, to Aurelius Euporion son of Aphynchis from the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, victor at the sacred games, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from you a cash loan out of your own house in imperial silver currency of three talents and two thousand one hundred and sixty drachmas, in total 3 talents 2,160 drachmas, which I shall pay back to you on compulsion by the 30th of the month Pharmouthi of the current year 19 and 18 and 11 without any delay and excuse; and if not, then I shall pay to you interest for the period overdue set at (one drachma per) each mina for each month over, and you have the right of execution against me and all my property. This cheirograph, written in duplicate, is authoritative wherever presented and for whoever presents it on your behalf, and I have been asked the formal question by you and have given consent. Year 19 and year 18 of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and year 11 of our lords Constantius and Maximianus most noble Caesares, Phamenoth 3.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Heras son of Paapis, received the three talents of silver and two thousand one hundred and sixty drachmas in a loan, and shall pay them back as mentioned above. I have been asked the formal question and have given consent. I, Aurelius Serenus, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.'

col. ii

1-2 The scribe diverges from the more regular consular formula of 303 by adding Αὐτο-
κρατόρων after τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν and placing Σεβαστῶν at the end, both of which are usually omitted. This, however, is not unprecedented (cf. LIV 3727 1-3, P. Wisc. II 61.1) and becomes the standard format for the following year 304; see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *CSBE*² 174-5.

3 Αὐρήλιος Ἡράς Παάπιος. A Heras son of Paapis from the same village is mentioned in XIV 1747 33-4 (III/IV). The document lists villages by toparchy and names one or two individuals under each village; the editors take it to be a list of persons requisitioned or nominated for public service. XXIV 2421 67 (c.312-23; BL VIII 257) mentions a Παάπιος Ἡράτος in an account of payments in grain. Given the practice of naming the eldest son after his grandfather, he may be the son of the comarch Heras.

4 Τααμπέμου. On this well attested village in the Eastern Toparchy (modern Tanbu), see A. Ben-
naissa, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Version 2.0, 2012) 364-6. Its comarchs are mentioned in four other documents: XII 1421 (III), XLVIII 3409 (IV), 3423 (IV), and L 3584 (V).

5 κώμ[αρ]χος. While two is the most widely attested and standard number of comarchs per village in the late third and early fourth century (cf. H. Mißler, *Der Komarch* (1970) 18-42, N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* (1997) 35), it is not explicitly stated whether Heras was a, or

the, comarch of Taampemou. Nevertheless, if Heras were taking out the loan in an unofficial capacity, there would be no need to mention the other comarch(s). The instances cited in 4 n. all mention the comarchs of Taampemou in the plural.

τοῦ ἐρεστώτος ἰθὺς καὶ ἡρᾶς κατὰ [ἰ] ἰαᾶ (ἔτους). In this period the comarch took office at the beginning of the Egyptian year on 1 Thoth (29/30 August); see D. Delia, E. Haley, *BASP* 20 (1983) 39 n. 2. It is uncommon for the year of a current comarchy to be specified when other dating clauses are present; cf. P. Col. X 281.2 (Ars.; 287), P. Cair. Isid. 58.2-3 (Ars.; 315).

7 ἱερονίκη. On the term see P. Gouw, *Griekse atleten in de Romeinse Keizertijd* (2009) 118-19, and S. Remijsen, *ZPE* 177 (2011) 97-109 (cf. also p. 192 in this volume). Victory in the ephebic games at Oxyrhynchus gained one the right to the postnominal title ἱερονίκης ἀπὸ/ἐξ ἐφηβείας or τῶν ἀπὸ/ἐξ ἐφηβείας ἱερονικῶν, e.g. BGU IV 1093.2 (265), P. Coll. Youtie II 67.5 (260/61), SB X 10216.4 (III/IV). The inclusion of ἀπὸ/ἐξ ἐφηβείας was crucial to distinguish the youth victor from those who continued their athletic career at greater regional or imperial venues. Thus, as far as Euporion is concerned, not much can be inferred from the title ἱερονίκης alone. For the ephebic games at Oxyrhynchus, see above, 5206 introd.

9-10 τὰ [λαυ]τα . . . ἐξήκοντα. The sum is not insubstantial based upon prices from around the time: in 302 a camel cost 9 talents (P. Grenf. II 74); the price of a donkey varied over the course of 305-9 between 5 and 15 talents (XLIII 3143 (305), SB I 5679 (307), P. Berl. Leihg. I 21 (309)); and in 309 bath attendants received a salary of 2,000 dr. per month (XII 1499); see R. S. Bagnall, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 116. At a rate of 3 artabas to 10 modii *castrenses*, if the price of wheat in Diocletian's edict is assumed and interest deducted from the loan (see below), Heras could have bought approximately 13.5 art. (= 6.409 kg).

It is worth noting the absence of any explicit statement to the effect that the loan is free of interest. The total amount of the loan is 3 talents and 2,160 dr., the latter part of which is somewhat suspect in its exactitude. Given that 12% p.a. was the maximum legal interest rate, it is clearly relevant that 2,160 is precisely 12% of 18,000. Since the loan is for a period of two months, the annual interest rate comes to 72%. One might conjecture from this that Euporion was confident that Heras would pay the loan back on time, but still wanted to get the full value of the agreement and therefore charged a whole year's worth of interest in two months. We may suppose that Heras was to use the money in business expecting a profitable return.

19-23 The year of Diocletian is off by one from Maximian's, since Maximian assumed imperial power the year after Diocletian, who did so in 284. Maximian did not receive the same regnal year count as Diocletian until December 303, when Diocletian made both regnal years 20; see *CSBE*² 43-4.

M. EAGER

5212. ORDER TO SUPPLY MEAT TO MIME-ACTORS

105/143(a)

17 × 5.5 cm

Fifth century

This and the following item are orders to supply meat to personnel employed by the circus: mimes (5212) and athletes (5213). Both orders are addressed to Apollonius, butcher. 5212 is issued by a certain Philoxenus; there is no such indication in 5213. Both texts presumably refer to the same butcher, though it should be noted that they were not found together: 5212 was excavated or received preliminary conservation at Bahnasa on 18 March (1903?) and 5213 on 23 January (1904?).

The text is written along the fibres on the verso of the original roll. Back blank.

Φιλόξενος Ἀπολλωνίῳ μαγίρῳ χ(αίρειν).
παράσχου τοῖς μίμοις κρέως λίτρας δέκα, (γίνονται) κρ(έως) λί(τραί) ι μ(όναί).
Χοιακ ἰβ. (m. 2?) ὁ αὐ(τὸς) σεσημ(είωμαι) κρ(έως) λί(τρας) δέκα μ(όνας).

1 μαγίρῳ 1. μαγείρῳ 2 / κρ λι ι μ 3 αυ//σεσημδ κρλι μ

'Philoxenus to Apollonius, butcher. Supply ten pounds of meat to the mime actors, total 10 lbs of meat only.

'Choiak 12.' (2nd hand?) 'I, the said person, have signed for ten lbs of meat only.'

1 Φιλόξενος. The name is so common in Oxyrhynchus that there is no need to identify this person with the *uir spectabilis* of this name (see *Tyche* 17 (2002) 90), though he was clearly a person of some standing.

Ἀπολλωνίῳ μαγίρῳ. Cf. 5213 1. Not known otherwise.

2 μίμοις. See 5215 5 n.

3 Choiak 12 = December 8/9.

N. GONIS

5213. ORDER TO SUPPLY MEAT TO ATHLETES

100/138(a)

8.1 × 7.6 cm

Fifth century

The text is written along the fibres on the back of a sheet cut from a larger document, of which there are only exiguous remains (an account?).

Ἀπολλωνίῳ μαγίρῳ
δὸς τοῖς ἀθληταῖς
κρέως λίτρας δύο.

1 1. μαγείρῳ

'To Apollonius, butcher. Give two pounds of meat to the athletes.'

2 ἀθληταῖς. There is only one other explicit reference to 'athletes' in this period, in the circus programme P. Bingen 128.8 (implied in XXXVI 2707 13); see P. Bingen 128.8 n.; S. Remijsen, 'Blushing in Such Company?' The Social Status of Athletes in Late Antiquity', in D. Brakke et al. (edd.), *Shifting Cultural Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (2012) 199-209, esp. 205 ff.

N. GONIS

5214. LEASE(?) OF A ROOM

82/43(d)a

9 x 3.3 cm

Sixth century

A fragment from the middle part of what seems to be a lease of a room in the ἄμφωδον Πραιτωρίου, a quarter of Oxyrhynchus not attested previously (see 1–2 n.). The location of the property is further specified as being ‘in the street of the cellar of the mime-actresses’, which is also new.

The writing is along the fibres. There is a *kollesis* 1.3 cm from the right-hand edge. The document was rolled up from right to left and pressed flat.

τῆς πόλεως ἐπ’ ἀμφώδ[ου
Πραιτωρίου ἐν τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς
ἀποστάσεως τῶν μιμνάδων
δόκληροῦ ἀνάγαιον τόπον
5 ... [] . [] .

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

] , c ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξ[υρυγχιτῶν

3 1. μιμνάδων

‘... city, in the quarter of the Praetorium in the street of the cellar of the mime-actresses, a whole room on the upper floor ...’

Back: ‘... from the (city) of the Oxyrhynchites ...’

1 τῆς πόλεως would have been preceded by ἐπὶ ταύτης or τῆσδε.

1–2 ἐπ’ ἀμφώδ[ου] Πραιτωρίου. This quarter of Oxyrhynchus has not been attested previously, but recurs in 5 1B.59/C(d), a loan of 520, to be published in a forthcoming volume.

The *praetorium* at Oxyrhynchus at the time will have been the residence and headquarters of the *praeses* of Arcadia; the other Oxyrhynchite references from this period are XLIII 3150 14–15 (VI?), and XVI 1921 3 (621). See generally A. Lukaszewicz, *Les Édifices publics dans les villes de l’Égypte romaine* (1986) 177–8; F. Mitthof, CPR XXIII 19 introd. (p. 112).

ἐπ’ ἀμφώδ[ου] ... ἐν τῇ ῥύμῃ. Such references are fairly common in documents from Her-mopolis, but in that city the number of *amphoda* was limited. From Oxyrhynchus, the closest parallel comes from PSI VI 708.8–9 (436) ἐπ’ ἀμ[φώδου Παμμένους παρ]αδίκου ἐν ῥύμῃ Ψύλλου καλουμένου (l. -η); cf. also P. Laur. IV 164.8–9 (IV/V) ἐν τῇ ῥύμῃ] Λωπάδος δόκ[ληρον]. For other ῥύμαι in Oxy-rhynchus, see *Diz. geogr. Suppl.* iii 102–3.

3 μιμνάδων, 1. μιμνάδων. For the gemination of mu, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 157–8. The word is known from inscriptions and literary sources, but has not occurred in any other papyrus. It is first attested in the late second or early third century; see J. H. Starks, ‘Pantomime Actresses in Latin Inscriptions’, in E. Hall, R. Wyles (edd.), *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime* (2008) 110–45, at 115. On mime actors see 5215 5 n.; on mime actresses in particular, see E. Fertl, *Von Musen, Miminnen und*

leichten Mädchen: Die Schauspielerin in der römischen Antike (2005); also R. Webb, *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity* (2008)

4 ἀνάγαιον = ἀνώγειον; cf. e.g. PSI VI 709.16–17 (566) τόπων . . . ἀναγαιών. On the term see G. Husson, *OIKIA: Le Vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d’après les papyrus grecs* (1983) 40.

N. GONIS

5215–5218. CIRCUS PROGRAMMES

Each of the following four papyri contains a list of items that were, or were part of, a programme of entertainment, which probably took place in the hippodrome or circus in Oxyrhynchus. Three such programmes have been published to date: XXXIV 2707, P. Bingen 128, and P. Harrauer 56, the provenance of the latter two being unknown. P. Bingen 128 has been dated to the late fifth or sixth century; 2707 and P. Harrauer 56 to the sixth. The papyri edited here are not objectively dated: to judge by the similarity of content and hands they are probably also from the late fifth or sixth century.¹

5215, like the three previously published papyri, commences with an invocation to good fortune and a display (or possibly an acclamation) of victory. It is followed by a procession, as in P. Harrauer 56, which lists no races. In 2707 and P. Bingen 128 the victory display is followed by a chariot race, and then by a procession. The ‘proper’ place for the procession of horses was before the first race: Const. Porph. *De cer.* II 153.16 V. (P. Bingen 128.4 n.). There may have been another procession at 5215 6. None of these opening events is listed in the surviving parts of 5216, 5217, or 5218.

2707 and P. Bingen 128 include a number of races, with entertainments of the type which we call ‘circus acts’ between them, possibly intended to distract the crowd while the track was cleared for the next race; 5216 similarly lists at least one and possibly two races, with intervening entertainments. 5215, 5217, 5218, and P. Harrauer 56, insofar as they can be read, list only entertainments and no races. Such programmes may show that these types of entertainment took place without

¹ G. Tedeschi, *Intrattenimenti e spettacoli nell’Egitto ellenistico-romano* (2011), has updated texts of the three published papyri on pp. 137–9 (his documents nos. 76–8). In relation to this sort of entertainment see generally A. Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (1973) 227–32, 255–7; Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (1976) 193–229, 316–17; J. Gascou, ‘Les institutions de l’hippodrome en Égypte byzantine’, *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 185–212 = *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (2008) 51–71; C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias* (1993) 1–79; R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (1993) 92–105; W. Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (2001) 202–18; J. Nelis-Clement, ‘Les métiers du cirque, de Rome à Byzance: entre texte et image’, *CCG* 13 (2002) 265–309, esp. 296–7; D. S. Potter, ‘Entertainers in the Roman Empire’, in Potter and D. J. Mattingly (edd.), *Life, Death and Entertainment in the Roman Empire* (2010) 280–349.

racing even in a town with a hippodrome, possibly because they were cheaper to produce; alternatively the day's events may have been separated into different types of activities, as in Constantinople in the twelfth century (Niketas Choniates, *Hist.* X 3.18.301–8 (van Dieten p. 290), describing events in 1184, when the racing and athletics were concluded before the rope-dancing and hunt: I am grateful to Dr Sofie Remijnsen for this reference), with in the case of P. Harrauer 56 the circus acts preceding the racing. See P. Harrauer p. 203.

The programmes contain words not otherwise attested in papyri: *αβλατον* (meaning unknown) in **5216** and *γυροπασι* and *ἡθολόγοι* in **5217**. In addition, *βολή* (**5218** fr. 2.1) and the undeciphered words at **5218** fr. 1.4, fr. 2.2, and fr. 4.1–2 are new to this type of document. The evidence for the usage of these and other terms used in the circus programmes, such as *βο(υ)κάλιοι* (**2707** 5, 7, **5215** 9, **5217** 2, **5218** fr. 1.3) and *καλοπαίκτηι* (**2707** 5, 7, P. Bingen 128.5, P. Harrauer 56.4), comes from a variety of sources over a considerable time-span, suggesting that these acts did not change significantly over long periods of time.

There is no consistency across the seven programmes in the use of nominative or accusative, or singular or plural. There has been some discussion as to whether in relation to a mime the use of the singular means a single performer; in **2707** 11, the plural is used, and at P. Bingen 128.6 n. the editor suggests that the singular term might mean the spectacle rather than the artist. Mimes are usually referred to in the plural, but there are papyri in which payments are made to single artists, like III **519** 3 (11) and VII **1050** 25 (11/111). See P. Harrauer p. 203 for other references. None of these programmes contains both singular and plural of exactly the same type of performer, but **5217** has a singular mime and plural *ἡθολόγοι*, a type of mime artist (see **5217** 4 n.), and **5215** also has a mixture of singular and plural. In the case of mimes, the plural in **2707** 11 may indicate a competition.

The generous layout of the seven papyri suggests that they may have been created to be handed round or pinned up. **5215** is subscribed, as is **2707**, to which it is closest in style, and which, as the editor suggested in the introduction, may have been a copy of a public notice that had to be seen and approved by a second person, possibly passed from one municipal official to another. We cannot tell if any of the others had a subscription; all may have. Such programmes may have been distributed before the performance, perhaps as invitations, in which case the signature on **2707** (and **5215**) may have been greetings from the sender (P. Harrauer p. 204). Alternatively they may have been used by the master of ceremonies or impresario in charge of ensuring that the various acts came on at their appointed times. Each programme is written in a different hand.

The papyri do not show the venue for the events. Oxyrhynchus had both a hippodrome (probably just outside the city to the north) and a theatre (in the south-west quarter).¹ Shows without chariot-racing may have used the theatre; in

¹ See J. Padró, *Oxyrhynchos I: Fouilles archéologiques à el-Bahnasa (1982–2005)* (2006) 99–100; id., in

Aphrodisias, for example, where there was no hippodrome, there is evidence in the theatre for a range of entertainers, including mimes and a tightrope walker.¹

5215–17 have received preliminary notice in *Egyptian Archaeology* 41 (2012) 5–7, at 7, with photographs.

M. MOUNTFORD

5215. CIRCUS PROGRAMME

A. 6B.5/57(a)

12.5 × 29.7 cm

Sixth century

The papyrus is badly damaged, with a number of large holes. The edge of a *kollesis*, in place before the document was written, is visible approximately 3 cm in from the right-hand edge; the right-hand sheet is stuck to the top of the left-hand sheet, and the fibres of the two sheets do not run parallel, suggesting that this was not a manufacturer's join. The upper and right-hand margins are intact, as is the left-hand margin except for a hole level with lines 5–7, and a separate fragment completes the bottom margin. Wide margins were left at both sides and wide gaps between the lines; it looks like a document for public rather than private use. The script is large and stylized, but not like the chancery hands responsible for **2707** and P. Harrauer 56; P. Bingen 128 is somewhat comparable. α and γ are higher and smaller than the other letters (see particularly line 1), η is curved (7), and ι can have a small loop on top (7).

The writing runs along the fibres. The back contains an account, probably a list of vegetables, written later, with the writing running across the fibres.

ἀγαθῆ τύχη
 νί[κη
 πομ[πή
 γ[υ]μ[νικο-
 5 μίμ[ο]ς
]...[
 γυ]μνικο[-
 μίμος
 βουκάλιοι
 10 []
 (m.2) δι]επτύ[χει

For good fortune.

A. K. Bowman et al. (edd.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (2007) 136–7; id., in M. Erroux-Morfin and J. Padró Parcerisa (edd.), *Oxyrhynchus, un site de fouilles en devenir* (2008) 16–17.

¹ Roueché, *Performers* 1.1.iii (IAph2007 8.104), 8 b ii (IAph2007 8.12) on pp. 36–7 and Pl. II.

'Victory. Procession. Gymnast(?). Mime. (Procession?). Gymnast(?). Mime. Vocalists(?). . .'
(2nd hand) 'Farewell.'

1 ἀ[γα]θῆ τύχη. So 2707 1, P. Bingen 128.1, and P. Harrauer 56.1. The circus programmes are the only papyri from the Byzantine era in which this invocation appears (P. Harrauer 56.1 n.); the latest dated example of its use in published papyri in another context is from 359, BGU I 316 = M. Chr. 271.2, an agreement for the sale of a slave. See LXIII 4359 2 n. on the use of this phrase in contracts on papyrus. In 2707 1 and P. Harrauer 56.1, the words are preceded by a christogram. The use of ἀγαθῆ τύχη at the start of a programme may have been customary in pre-Christian times, when Tyche was believed to be a goddess representing the fortune of the city, possibly because the activities were dangerous or involved betting, possibly because the games were put on by the city authorities. The continuation of the usage in the Christian period suggests that the term, like the symbol of victory (see 2 n.), had lost its pagan religious significance. A seventh-century wooden tablet found in Edfu and now in the Louvre contains an image of Anthona, the Tyche of Constantinople, painted over extracts of various parts of the New Testament (A. Desreumaux, M.-H. Rutschowskaya, CRAI 1992, 83–92), and it is possible that the term in this context was not just a heading but actually signified the production of or a procession involving a statue or image. (I am grateful to Professor Parsons for this reference and suggestion.) The expression ἀγαθῆ τύχη is used by a number of Byzantine writers but not as a heading.

2 νί[κ]η. This is more likely to be νίκη (as in P. Harrauer 56.2) than νικαι (as in 2707 2 and P. Bingen 128.2; see P. Harrauer 56.2 n.): if there had been an iota as the fifth letter, traces of it would probably be visible. The plural may have indicated a victory figure for each reigning emperor (SHA Sev. 22.3) carried in or before the pompa circensis: see 2707 2 n. Ovid (*Amores* 3.2.45) has a figure of Victory leading the procession at the races, followed by statues or representations of other gods. The ancient ceremony seems to have continued as the traditional start to entertainment in the circus, but with the Victory figure having lost the meaning of the 'goddess of the circus' (see RE VIII A.2 2528–9), and become a symbol of the success of the emperor and a part of imperial propaganda. Images of the emperor may also have been carried (*C. Th.* XV 4.1 (425)). See Roueché, 'The Image of Victory: New Evidence from Ephesus', in *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron* (TMByz 14; 2002) 527–46, esp. 543. The Hippodrome in Constantinople was the principal venue for imperial victory celebrations in the fifth and sixth centuries. If, when the emperor was present, there was always 'some non-specific reiteration of victory ideology' (M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (1986) 95), it would not be surprising if this was mirrored in some way at events which took place in front of his representatives in the provinces. See Roueché, *Performers* 145–7, on imperial statues at celebrations, and McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 59–68 and 92–9, on imperial victory celebrations. νίκη could also be an exhortation, as in Roueché, *Performers* nos. 4 and 5 (IAph2007 8.6 and 8.7), but that is less likely in this context.

Less likely also is νικῆ, which appears frequently in the theatre and in other graffiti from Alexandria and Aphrodisias (Z. Borkowski, *Alexandrie II: Inscriptions des factions à Alexandrie* (1981); Roueché, *Performers passim*). This is usually taken to be indicative, an acclamation of victory (see P. Bingen 128.2 n. and Cameron, *Porphyrius* 248–50), but it could also be subjunctive, expressing a wish for victory. Acclamations for the emperor were customary at games and the theatre when he was in attendance, and may have taken place regularly at the start of all entertainments. On acclamations see generally Roueché, 'Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 74 (1984) 181–99.

Professor Parsons notes the use of τὸ νικα as a battle-cry of the circus factions (*Proc. de bellis* 1.24.10); the 532 riots in Constantinople were named after it.

3 πομπ[ή]. Cf. on 6, and see the introduction to 5215–5218 for the appearance of this word in other circus papyri.

4 The traces are compatible with this reading, as at 7, where see n.

5 μίμ[ο]ς. Restored following 8. A mime can mean a play or sketch to be performed (cf. 5187–9 introd.), but it was also a general word for a comic actor, often one who imitated or parodied his subjects. Mime(s) are the common element in all the circus programmes known. Mimes took part in competitions at earlier festivals, and that later appearances may also have been competitive is suggested by the references to διακευῆ ἄμαχα, 'unbeatable equipment', and exhortations to victory at Aphrodisias, and by evidence that mimes, like the teams of chariot-racers, could 'belong' to one of the Colours: see Roueché, *Performers* nos. 1.1.iii, 1.3.ii, 1.4.i, 1.5.i (IAph2007 8.16, 8.17, 8.18, 8.104). At XXVII 2480 43 (565/6?), wine is distributed by the Apion household to mimes of τῶν β ἐργαστηρ(ίων): this may be a reference to the two Colours (see inter alia 2480 10 showing wine being supplied to the horses of the Blue Faction), although Gascoü rejects this view (1976, 195 n. 2 = 2008, 58 n. 34), without giving a reason. The same line records a distribution to καλοπαίκται, who may have belonged to the same group.

Mimes are referred to in a number of papyri from the first century BC onwards: BGU XIV 2428.29 (1 BC, in a festival context); perhaps LXXIV 5013 3 (II; context unclear), where see n.; III 519 32 (II), VII 1050 25 (II/III), and P. Harr. I 97.9 (IV) showing that they took part in games; P. Ryl. IV 641.17 (first half of IV) entertaining a visiting strategus; P. Wash. Univ. II 95.1 (IV/V); SPP XX 85 (IV), again in the context of a festival; 2480 43 (565/6?; see above); 5214 2–3 (VI) τῆς ἀποστάσεως τῶν μιμνάδων. A *biologos*, a special type of mime, appears in VII 1025 7–8 (late II) in the context of village entertainment. Apart from 2480, 5214, and CPR VII 45.24, 27 (VI; meaning unclear), the only references in later papyri are in the circus programmes. See Robert, 'Ἀρχαιολόγος', *REG* 49 (1936) 242 = *OMS* i 678; F. Perpillou-Thomas, 'Artistes et athlètes dans les papyrus grecs d'Égypte', *ZPE* 108 (1995) 225–51, at 230, and references; Cameron, *Porphyrius* 230–32; id., *Circus Factions* 224 ff.; for mimes generally, Reich, *Der Mimus* (1903).

6] . . [. The first trace may represent μ (the right-hand side with a suggestion of the right-hand end of the bridge touching it on the left); following it, only specks are preserved. Dr Chang suggests πο]μπή], as at 3. 6–8 would then match 3–5 exactly.

7–9 This sequence also at 5218 fr. 1.1–3.

7 γυ]μνικο[. The adjective γυμνικός is found in three third-century papyri from Oxyrhynchus containing applications for competitors' privileges, Pap. Agon. 1.15, 20, 22, 25, 3.18, and 9.7, where, like μουσικός, ἱππικός, and σκηνικός, it qualifies ἀγών; cf. also 5207 ii 11. Here the word may be γυμνικό[ν or γυμνικό[ς, signifying an athletic contest; although there is no room for a word such as ἄθλον or ἀγών, this may not have been necessary in the context. Alternatively, this may be the first papyrological attestation of γυμνικός used to mean an acrobatic or gymnastic performer in a spectacle, as in SEG XXX 1231, an inscription from Lyons (first half of III) commemorating Gorgonius, a founding raised as such a performer who died at the age of ten. G. Sacco, 'Osservazioni su τροφοίς, τρόφιμοι, θρεπτοί', *Miscellanea greca e romana* 7 (1980) 271–86, cites five Latin inscriptions in the same vein (CIL VI 10158, 10159, 10160, 14400, X 2132) and SHA Vopiscus *Car.* 19.2–3, showing *gymnici* appearing in spectacles in Rome along with, inter alia, pantomimes, musicians, and what we would call circus entertainers; these suggest that the term may have been applied principally to young performers.

8 μίμος. See 5 n.

9 βουκάλιοι. This word, spelt βουκάλιοι, appears in 2707 5 and 7 as an adjective qualifying καλοπαίκται (men on stilts: P. Harrauer 56.4 n.), and was translated as 'singing', from Latin *vocalis*; see 2707 5 n., and cf. *Lex. lat. Lehn.* II s.v. Here and in 5217 2 and no doubt also in 5218 fr. 1.3 it is a noun. I have not found the word used elsewhere in papyri. We have evidence of use in three other contexts: (1) Latin *vocales* at royal banquets (SHA *Alex. Sev.* 34.2 (Severus dismisses *vocales exsoletos* along with other types of entertainers) and Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* 1.2.9 *vocalium concentus meditatatum acroama simul intonat*); (2) the presumed original singers of the psalms (βουκάλιοι ἦτοι ᾠδοί in Chron. Pasch. 159.17

and Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Tóp.* 5.117.14; *τοὺς δὲ ἑδούς τοὺς λεγομένους βοκαλίους* in Chron. Pasch. 159.4 and Cosm. Indic. *Tóp.* 5.116.15); (3) in Const. Porph. *De cer.* eight references to *βουκάλιοι* are to a regular group in the imperial suite (742.10 R. *ὑπουργῶν τε καὶ βουκαλίων*) whose role was to utter appropriate phrases in Latin, such as '*conservei deus imperium vestrum*', at fixed points during the imperial banquet (they are called *τοις βουμαίζουσι βοκαλίους* at 744.7 R.). In four places (I 15.29, II 171.1, 6, 19 V) their performance is represented by *λέγειν*, in three (743.22, 744.7, 751.3 R.) by *ἐκφώνησις* (*acclamatio*). See N. Oikonomidès, *Les Listes de présence byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (1972) 167 n. 146.

10 [: a steeply descending stroke with further ink lower down and to the left; Δ[, as at 5218 fr. 1.4 (cf. on 7–9 above), may be a possible reading. There are further possible traces to the right, but these may belong to the next letter or the next but one.

11 δ[ε]γ[ε]ν[ύ]χ[ε]ι. The reconstruction follows 2707 14. The surviving letters appear to be written in a different hand. See the introduction to 5215–18 for possible implications of the use of this word, which would normally appear at the end of a letter.

M. MOUNTFORD

5216. CIRCUS PROGRAMME

84/90(g)

13 × 14 cm

Fifth/sixth century

Only four lines of this papyrus, and slight traces of a fifth, have survived. It is not possible to tell how much is missing. The right margin is intact and, as in 5215, the letters are large and the writer leaves a wide margin to left and right, as if for a public notice. μ and ν are curved; ν ends with a flourish at the end of each line. α is open but not noticeably smaller than the other letters, except on its second appearance in 4. The back is blank.

μῖμον
 ἀθλον
 μῖμον
 ἀβλατον
 5 ἀθλο]ν
]

‘... Mime. Race. Mime. . . . Race. . . .’

1 μ[ι]μον. See 5215 5 n.

2 ἀθλον. This word appears in three other papyri: P. Bingen 128.3, 7, 9 (see P. Harrauer 56.8 n. on the meaning of ἀθλον in this connection and for the supplement ἀθλο]ν at P. Bingen 128.3), where it has the same meaning as here, SB X 10493.7 (228), where it clearly means ‘prize’, and P. Lond. VI 1927.37 (mid iv), where the meaning is not entirely clear but it was translated as ‘contest’. Its meaning seems to have changed over time, developing from the prize to the contest which was fought for it and then, specifically or in specific contexts, a chariot contest or race (see P. Harrauer

56.8 n. citing Const. Porph. *De cer.* 758.13 R.). Philo (*De div. verb. sign.* s.v.) distinguishes ἀθλον meaning ‘contest’ from ἐπαθλον meaning ‘prize’.

3 μῖμον. See 5215 5 n.

4 ἀβλατον. The meaning of this is unclear. I have not found anything in Greek or Latin that looks similar, other than *ablatus* from *aufero*. If that is the correct derivation, there are I think three possible (I hesitate to use the word in this context; none is satisfactory) meanings: ‘carried away’ (possibly a stock mime or pageant about a stolen object, but I have found no similar surviving title), ‘interval’ (or ‘cancelled’?), and ‘prize-giving’ (see Lewis and Short s.v. *aufero*, A ‘to take or bear off or away, to carry off’, B ‘to cease from, desist from’, and C ‘to carry off (as the fruit or result of one’s labor . . .)’ respectively). While one might have expected another race in this position in the list, it is clear that the word is not ἀθλον. The second letter may possibly be κ but that does not help the interpretation, as I can find no examples of ἀκλατον either. Nor is ἀύλατον attested.

5 ἀθλο]ν. Restored following 2. The word could equally well be μῖμο]ν.

M. MOUNTFORD

5217. CIRCUS PROGRAMME

105/67(a)

19.5 × 10.2 cm

Sixth century

Only four lines of this papyrus have survived, and we cannot tell how much is missing. The left-hand margin is complete, with a wide band of papyrus (c.7 cm) left blank on both sides. The edge of a *kollesis* is visible 5 cm in from the left-hand edge of the sheet. The writing is the same size as in 5216. The back is blank.

μῖμος
 βοκάλιοι
 γυροπασιοι
 ἡθολόγοι

‘. . . Mime. Vocalists. . . . Character actors.’

1–2 The same sequence at 5215 8–9, 5218 fr. 1.2–3, in both cases preceded by γυμνικο[.

1 μῖμος. See 5215 5 n.

2 βοκάλιοι. See 5215 9 n.

3 γυροπασιοι. I have not found this word anywhere else. γυρος means a ring or circle (LSJ), and γυροβασία, ‘going in a circle’, with π for β as commonly, would be a comprehensible and well-paralleled though unattested formation; -σιοι however, if correctly read, is hard to account for. Latin *gyrus* is often found in connection with horses: cf. *OLD* s.v. 1 ‘A circular course on which horses were trained or raced’, 2a ‘A circle described by a creature or object in motion’, 2b ‘a circling or wheeling movement’. The adjective *gyros* can mean ‘contorted’ when used of wrestling (LSJ Rev. Suppl., citing Philostr. *Gym.* 11, 35), and so one might alternatively wish to find here a reference to contortionists.

4 ἡθολόγοι. Another word not found elsewhere in published papyri. Defined in Hesychius, Photius, and the *Suda* only as *θεατρικτῆς*, this is a specific type of mime who depicts stock figures (such as ‘the boastful man’ or ‘the peasant’) in word and gestures, equated to a *biologos* by Reich (*Der Mimus*

i 83, in the context of mimes who imitated Christian figures, and ii 642), and Robert (*REG* 49 (1936) 242 = *OMS* i 678). Other references are at Athen. 1.20A, a reference to Noemon the mimic, Diod. Sic. 20.63.2, where a person is described as making people laugh as if he was an ἠθολόγος or a θανματοποιός (a mimic or a conjuror or stunt man), and Plu. *Qu. Conv.* 673B καὶ μίμοις καὶ ἠθολόγοις, in relation to entertainments at drinking parties.

M. MOUNTFORD

5218. CIRCUS PROGRAMME

66 6B.3/G(1-2)a

fr. 1 11.2 × 8.4 cm

Sixth century

One large and seven smaller fragments. The writing runs along the fibres, and the back is blank.

The document is a list of circus events and displays (or victors?), part athletic, part non-athletic entertainments, and several of uncertain nature. The lines are written flush left with a justified left-hand margin and there is no evidence of Maas' law. The text is written in a large, well-spaced fluent round hand with vertical extension, in fr. 2.1 at least so widely spaced as to suggest special display or heading. Each letter is about 1.7–1.9 cm tall. η, μ, and γ have their cursive shapes, but ο is stylized, unusually narrow, and elongated; β has a carefully contrived loop at its foot. The hand is not identical with that of any of the other surviving programmes.

The layout and scale and style of writing suggests nothing so much as a posted sign: letters uncommonly take the form of mere lists. Perhaps it passed between two municipal officers or circus organizers for approval prior to posting, or perhaps it served as an announcement of the events or an invitation to them (in suitably large formal script) to important persons. In terms of structure, the piece most closely resembles 5215, which has in lines 7–9 the same sequence as 5218 fr. 1.1–3. The appearance of μίμος in two places in the surviving fragments (fr. 1.2, fr. 3) is no obstacle to their being assigned to a single document, cf. 5215 5, 8, 5216 1, 3, P. Bingen 128.6, 10; 2707, the only programme in which mimes appear in the plural, μίμοι (11), is also the only programme in which they are known to have made only a single appearance. 5218 signals no chariot races, either because these were understood as alternating with the entertainment events, or because the programme announced is all show.

5218 is of particular interest as containing alongside familiar items (and a familiar sequence) several words found in no other programme published to date (fr. 1.4; fr. 2.1, 2; fr. 4.1, 2), but of these, only βολή (fr. 2.1) has so far been deciphered.

Fr. 1	Fr. 2	Fr. 3	Fr. 4
γυμνικο[	βολή	μίμο[ο-	αι... [
μίμος [	]...[.]...ον [	.	..αχιζιν[
βουκάλιφ[-	.	.	.
δι.[].. [	.	.	.

Fr. 5	Fr. 6	Fr. 7	Fr. 8
.	.	Top	.
].. [].. []... [].. [
.	Foot	.	Foot

(Fr. 1) 'Gymnast(s). Mime. Vocalist(s) (?) . . . ' (Fr. 2) 'Throw (?) . . . ' (Fr. 3) 'Mime.'

Fr. 1

1–3 The same sequence at 5215 7–9.

1 γυμνικο[. See on 5215 7. Whether there was one or more is impossible to know: singular, if the lone μίμος in 2 is any indication (cf. 5215 7 γυμνικο[—where we could of course have the singular or plural—with 8 μίμος sing.), and we are thinking of a solo, perhaps virtuoso gymnast (was it a parade of the victors in each category?); plural, if these were the competitors in a group event.

2 μίμος [. Cf. fr. 3, and see on 5215 5. The elongated top of c shows that we have the end of the word and line.

3 βουκάλιφ[-. See on 5215 9 (where we have the same spelling βουκαλ-); 2707 5, 7, and 5217 2 (with the spelling βουκαλ-). Plural in 2707, 5215 9, and 5217 2, and nowhere singular, which perhaps argues for the restoration of the plural here.

4 δι.[].. [. After δι, the lower left part of α or c; then possibly c. Not διε[υ]τή[χαι: there is no room for [υ], and the final trace descends too steeply to be the upper left-hand corner of γ.

Fr. 2

1 βολή. End of line (and event), but meaning uncertain. Perhaps the reference is to a display of javelin- or discus-throwing, cf. Gal. *In Hipp. Epid. VI comment.* (CMG V 10.2.2, p. 128.1) δίσκων καὶ ἀκοντίων βολάς; alternatively, perhaps the word is used of an archery contest (cf. Babr. 1.2). Cf. also δισκοβόλος (of statues, and of soldiers, *Lyd. Mag.* p. 72.21 Bandy) and related words.

Fr. 3

μίμο[οc is likely; cf. fr. 1.2. 2707 is the only circus programme with plural μίμοι: cf. 5215–5218 introd.

Fr. 4

1 Not ἀγαθὴ τύχη.

Frr. 6–8

The apparent upper and lower margins indicated in the transcription may be merely a product of abrasion.

D. OBBINK

APPENDIX

GAMES, COMPETITORS, AND PERFORMERS IN ROMAN EGYPT

1. *The emergence of Greek games in Egypt*

Athletic, equestrian, and artistic competitions (*agones*) flourished from the seventh and sixth centuries on in Greece, southern Italy, the west coast of Asia Minor, and Cyrenaica. Among the dozens of archaic and classical contests, the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games emerged as the top four. Although people involved in these contests (athletes, performing artists, ambassadors, authors of victory odes) travelled widely, there was little co-ordination of this developing agonistic circuit; formal categorization of contests and supervision by higher authorities only started in the Hellenistic period, and this evolution was not completed until the Roman imperial period. The love of contests, on the other hand, was something that connected the Greeks from early on, so that it is not surprising that competitions in performing arts and sports were introduced into Egypt when Greek settlers and culture arrived there.

Agones started in Egypt immediately after its conquest by Alexander the Great, who celebrated his coronation as pharaoh in Memphis with games (Arrian 3.5.2), although regular games, that is, an *agon* held every four years on a fixed date, were apparently not established until about half a century later. Some of the sports that made up the *agones*, such as running, wrestling, boxing, and horse racing, had a long independent history in Egypt, but there is no evidence for Egyptian influence on the Greek contests.¹ The Ptolemies wanted to present themselves as champions of Greek culture and therefore actively promoted Greek-style sports and performing arts.² The royal family competed vicariously at the major contests in Greece in the horse and chariot races, events in which wealth could ensure success, and encouraged the participation of Hellenes from Egypt in athletic events through subsidies and tax privileges. They also founded or supported new games in Egypt. After Ptolemy II had instituted the *Ptolemaia* in Alexandria, probably in 279 BC, the *Theadelphia* and the *Basileia* soon followed. These games were recognized as top games by several allies of the Ptolemies, but in practice, like other games on the periphery of the Greek world, they rarely attracted international competitors. Games for performing artists only were instituted as well. An artistic contest was held as part of the Alexandrian *Dionysia* and another was organised by the Alexandrian deme Eleusis. The city of Ptolemais Hermiou in Upper Egypt was permitted by

¹ On sport in pharaonic Egypt, see e.g. W. Decker, *Pharao und Sport* (Mainz 2006).

² This is further elaborated in S. Remijsen, 'Challenged by Egyptians: Greek Sports in the Third Century BC', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 26 (2009) 246–71.

Ptolemy III to establish a contest for performing artists as well. Literary texts, such as the *Hippika* of Posidippus and Callimachus' victory ode for Berenike, celebrate victories of the royal family and courtiers, while others, such as the description of a procession by Kallixeinos of Rhodes (Athenaeus 196A–203B), illustrate the splendour of the Alexandrian festivals.¹

Greek sports spread through the *chora* as well, as gymnasia were founded by immigrants, in particular military settlers, in the capital cities of the nomes and, unlike elsewhere in the Greek world, even in some large villages. In the course of the second century BC gymnasiarchs and ephebes start to appear in the papyri, indicating that the local gymnasia gradually conformed to the common Greek pattern. There were no internationally recognized *agones* like those of Alexandria or Ptolemais Hermiou, but occasional papyrological references attest smaller-scale competitions mounted as part of local festivals.²

The new festivals created a demand for participants. Most athletes who competed in the Egyptian games were locals who did not travel to the top games of Greece, and their occasional participation in contests did not warrant professionalization. The performing artists, on the other hand, had more opportunities to perform outside the context of *agones* and could make a career as performers. To ensure good participation at each major festival, they were organized in a professional association under the aegis of the king.³

In the course of the Hellenistic period the agonistic circuit had grown and new ties were created across the eastern half of the Mediterranean, so that by the end of the first century BC top competitors led a cosmopolitan life: they travelled throughout the Greek world and were organized in international professional or-

¹ Ptolemaic equestrian victories are mainly documented in Posidippus' *Hippika* and the Panathenaic victor list SEG XLI 115. The *Hippika*, nos. 71–88 in C. Austin and G. Bastianini (edd.), *Posidippi Pellaei quae supersunt omnia* (Milan 2002), form one section of the epigram collection found in a mummy cartonnage (P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309). Ptolemaic support for competitors is documented in Polybius 27.9 and P. Hal. 1.260–65. The date of the first *Ptolemaia* is disputed due to some inconsistencies in the evidence (SEG XXVIII 60.55–64; Syll.³ 390; CID IV 40; PSI IV 364). Delphi and the Nesiotic league declared the *Ptolemaia* to be equal to the Olympics (Syll.³ 390; CID IV 40). For the other contests see SEG XXXVI 1218, IV O 188 (*Theadelphia*), SEG XXVII 1114; IG II² 3779.19–20 (*Basileia*), Theocritus' *Encomium to Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Id. 17) 112–14 (*Dionysia*), XXXII 2645 fr. 3 (Eleusis) and OGIS I 49 (Ptolemais).

² E.g. the horse race in P. Genova III 197, and the torch race in BGU IV 1256. See B. Legras, *Néotés: Recherches sur les jeunes grecs dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine* (Geneva 1999); W. Habermann, 'Gymnasien im ptolemäischen Ägypten: Eine Skizze', in D. Kah and P. Scholz (edd.), *Das hellenistische Gymnasium* (Berlin 2007) 335–48.

³ This association is only attested in two texts from Ptolemais, OGIS I 50 and 51 (I. Prose 3 and 6), from the reign of Ptolemy II. A Cypriote branch of this association is well attested in the second century BC. See B. Le Guen, *Les Associations de technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique* (Nancy and Paris 2001) i 293–315, ii 34–6; S. Aneziri, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft* (Historia Einzelschriften 163, Wiesbaden 2003) 109–20.

ganizations. The establishment of the Roman Empire led to greater state regulation of games and competitors. This was linked to an upsurge of new *agones* across the Greek world, famously described by Louis Robert as an 'agonistic explosion'.¹ In the early imperial period, the regional associations for performing artists had merged, and an international association for athletes had developed (cf. 5202 26–7 n.).² The expanded agonistic circuit was supervised by these international associations and by the Roman authorities, who developed general rules on the schedule of the games—with particular input from Hadrian—and on the privileges awarded to victors, and further refined the categorization system.³ From around AD 100 on there were three main categories of contests, which determined what kind of privileges victors afterwards enjoyed in their home cities, and hence which contests had most appeal for the top competitors and the crowds. The most prestigious contests were the sacred and eiselastic games. A victor in such a contest would be allowed a ceremonial procession to enter the city on his return and was rewarded, again by his hometown, with a monthly pension or *opsonion*.⁴ These victors also enjoyed all the privileges of *hieronikai* ('sacred victors'), who were the victors in the wider category of sacred games. The term 'sacred' games is of debated origin, but does not imply that these games had a greater religious significance. Victors in sacred games were exempt from certain taxes including liturgies (see below). Least prestigious was the category of thematic games. This term is derived from *thema*, which can mean either 'prize' or 'cash fund' (i.e. the sum donated to fund a contest). Victors of thematic games could win valuable prizes, but were not granted privileges. The terms 'eiselastic' and 'thematic' are not attested before the reign of Trajan, and seem to have been innovations of that period, but the category of sacred games goes back to the so-called 'stephanitic' ('crown') games of the Hellenistic period. Another important categorizing term was the *periodos*, or 'circuit', which referred to the traditional 'big four': the Olympics, the Pythian games, the Isthmian games and the Nemean games.

Existing and new games at Alexandria in the early imperial period included an annual competition for ephebes, a biennial contest linked to the imperial cult, and at least one quadrennial contest, won by several international champions

¹ L. Robert, 'Discours d'ouverture', *Actes du VIII^e Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine*, 3–9 Octobre 1982 (Athens 1984) I 38 = *Opera minora selecta* vi 712.

² In general: O. van Nijf, 'Global Players: Athletes and Performers in the Hellenistic and Roman World', *Hephaistos* 24 (2006) 225–35. On the athletic association see e.g. H. W. Pleket, 'Some Aspects of the History of the Athletic Guilds', *ZPE* 10 (1973) 197–227. An overview of the history of the imperial artistic association is yet to be written.

³ Letters of Hadrian to the artistic association on the schedule and many practical aspects of the games attest to this supervision from above. Cf. G. Petzl and E. Schwertheim, *Hadrian und die dionysischen Künstler* (Bonn 2006).

⁴ A key text is Pliny, *Ep.* 10.118–119 (AD 111), in which the governor asked Trajan for advice when athletes started to claim allowances for victories won before a contest was eiselastic.

in the mid-first century AD, which according to Strabo (17.1.10) took place at the nearby military base of Nicopolis.¹ In the second century Alexandria, like several other cities in the empire, was allowed to set up *Hadrianeia*, which in the 160s were renamed the *Hadrianeios Philadelphieios agon*. Alexandrian *Olympia* were also founded, most likely in 176.² Hadrian's new *polis* of Antinoopolis received an annual *agon* on its foundation, the *Megala Antinoeia*. Sacred games were not normally annual, but in this case a full programme for adults had been added to the *Antinoeia* proper, which were annual ephebic games, thus making them *Megala*.³

The gymnasia of the *chora* seem to have been formalised under stricter state control in the early Roman period. Village gymnasia disappeared; conversely every *metropolis* (nome capital) had a gymnasium with the appropriate officials and every nome had a defined hereditary 'gymnasial group' subject to official checks of membership.⁴ Because the *metropoleis* were still not *poleis* (citizen communities), the *chora* continued to lack internationally recognised *agones*, although there were shows with athletes at local festivals. Technically men from the *chora* could not compete in *agones* elsewhere because they were not citizens of a *polis*. Only 'Alexandrians' appear in official victory lists and inscriptions; indeed, Alexandria is recorded as the origin of a third of the victors of the Olympic *stadion* race in the first two centuries AD, that is in 17 out of 50 Olympiads. Although Alexandria was one of the largest cities of the ancient world, this number seems too high for the inhabitants of a single city, and no other city even comes near.⁵ It appears that athletes from the nomes did compete, but as Alexandrians, which would explain how some residents of the *chora* had become sacred victors.⁶ This is supported by Pausanias' note (5.21.15) that the two Egyptian athletes who cheated at the Olympic games of AD 125 came from the Arsinoite nome (perhaps implying that these cheaters were not real Greeks). A later mosaic from Akmonia (Asia Minor), on the other hand,

¹ P. Lond. VI 1912 (ephebic contest) and IAG 84 (*Seleukeios agon*, *Sebasteios agon*). The *Sebasteios agon* may perhaps be identified with the contests in XVII 2105 and SB VIII 10068. IAG 65, 67, and 68 all speak of the *Pentaterikos* of Alexandria, which is not a proper name, but the typical term in these inscriptions for quadrennial contests anywhere.

² IAG 84 (*Hadrianeios Philadelphieios agon*). For the *Olympia* see J.-Y. Strasser, 'Les Olympia d'Alexandrie et le pancratiaste M. Aur. Asklépiadès', *BCH* 128–9 (2004–5) 421–68.

³ PSI III 199; P. Oxy. Hels. 25 = Pap. Agon. 4. For the ephebic competitions see I. Portes 6, 9, and 10. One hieroglyphic inscription refers to these games; see W. Decker, 'Bemerkungen zum Agon für Antinoos in Antinopolis (Antinoeia)', *Kölnener Beiträge zur Sportwissenschaft* 2 (1973) 38–56.

⁴ A. K. Bowman and D. W. Rathbone, 'Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt', *JRS* 82 (1992) 107–27; G. Ruffini, 'Genealogy and the Gymnasium', *BASP* 43 (2006) 71–99; see now also Y. Broux, 'Creating a New Local Elite: The Establishment of the Metropolitan Orders of Roman Egypt', *APF* 59 (2013) 143–53.

⁵ Miletos and Xanthos both had two victories, and Sidon and Aigion had three, Aigion's being due to the only triple victor in these 200 years. For the complete list see P. Christesen and Z. Martirosova-Torloni, 'The Olympic Victory List of Eusebius: Background, Text, and Translation', *Traditio* 61 (2006) 31–93.

⁶ E.g. BGU I 119 and 328, P. Berl. Leihg. II 35 (Arsinoite).

identifies them as Alexandrians.¹ Stronger evidence is an inscription for the famous later second-century pankratiast Marcus Aurelius Asklepiades, from a well-known Hermopolitan family of athletes, but giving Alexandria as his *patris* (IGUR I 240). Apion, whose extraordinary honours are now revealed by 5202, and illustrate the international fame and contacts of a successful artistic competitor in the mid first century AD, definitely had Alexandrian citizenship although he reputedly came from the *chora* (Josephus, *Ap.* 2.29). How and at what stage in their careers these competitors from the nomes acquired their Alexandrian citizenship, and whether it was more than honorary, are questions which as yet lack answers.

The situation of the *agones* in Egypt began to change after AD 200 when Septimius Severus granted city councils to the *metropoleis*. Now these towns could express their local pride by organizing games as other cities had long been doing across the East, and a local agonistic circuit gradually developed. The badly documented *Kapitolia* of Hermopolis seem to have been instituted shortly after the Septimian grant. As a neighbour of Antinoopolis and the hometown of the aforementioned Marcus Aurelius Asklepiades, then acting president of the international athletic association, Hermopolis had all the necessary knowledge and connections.² Around the same time both Oxyrhynchus and Leontopolis are known to have introduced an annual ephebic contest modelled on the *Antinoeia*.³ The great wave of new games, however, started in the reign of Gallienus; the *Antinoeia* were upgraded to eiselaastic status, probably shortly before 264, the *Paneaia* of Panopolis were first held in 264, the *Kapitolia* of Antinoopolis in 268 and the *Kapitolia* of Oxyrhynchus in 273. Lykopolis probably also had games by this time, but their name is not known, and other cities which rarely feature in the papyri may have had their own *agones* as well.⁴ The vast majority of documentary papyri concerning *agones* and competitors in Egypt thus come from the later third to early fourth century AD. We encounter competitors, former victors, and agonistic officials though their personal and public paperwork, and even magical texts to ensure victory.⁵ In the same period, local branches of the athletic and artistic associations became active throughout Egypt. 5208 documents the first known female priestess of the artistic association. The fragmentary 5207 documents the activities of the athletic association.

The following Table lists the games that are certainly attested in Egypt of the first to third centuries AD and their key details.

¹ A. Bohne, *Bilder vom Sport: Untersuchungen zur Ikonographie römischer Athleten-Darstellungen* (Nikephoros Beihefte 19, Hildesheim 2011) K80.

² The *Kapitolia* are attested only in I. Side 130.

³ IV 705, SEG XL 1568.

⁴ Pap. Agon. 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10. The existence of a contest in Lycopolis is suggested by the honorary citizenship of Lycopolis for a retired competitor in Pap. Agon. 3.

⁵ E.g. X 1284 (250), former *agonothetes* as party to a sale; I 59 (292), petition for privilege on account of victories; XIV 1643 (298), victor and official of association appoints a representative to look for a slave; XII 1478 (III/IV, magical text); LXIII 4354 (307), victor as keeper of a will.

TABLE: Games in Roman Egypt

City	Type or name of games	Date of establishment	Category	Period and time of celebration
Alexandria	ephebic contest	Ptolemaic?	—	annual
Alexandria	<i>Sebasteios agon</i>	early 1st century AD?	sacred?	biennial
Alexandria	<i>Seleukeios agon</i>	?	?	quadrennial?
Alexandria	<i>Hadrianaios Philadelphaios agon</i>	Hadrian, then M. Aurelius and L. Verus	sacred; and perhaps eiselaastic?	?
Alexandria	<i>Olympia</i>	176?	sacred and eiselaastic	quadrennial Pachon (May)
Antinoopolis	<i>Megala Antinoeia</i> (inc. ephebic contest)	130	sacred; by 264 sacred and eiselaastic	annual Mecheir (February)
Antinoopolis	<i>Kapitolia</i>	268	sacred and eiselaastic	quadrennial Tybi (January)
Hermopolis	<i>Kapitolia</i>	Septimius Severus?	?	?
Leontopolis	ephebic contest	220	sacred	annual Hathyr (November)?
Lykopolis	?	?	?	?
Oxyrhynchus	ephebic contest	210	sacred	annual Tybi (January)
Oxyrhynchus	<i>Kapitolia</i>	273/4	sacred and eiselaastic	quadrennial Tybi (January)
Panopolis	<i>Paneaia</i>	264	sacred and eiselaastic	quadrennial Epeiph (July)

2. *Agones in a metropolis: the case of Oxyrhynchus*

Before 200 Oxyrhynchus did not organize its own *agones*, although athletics and artistic performances were already an established feature of urban culture, and a common theme in literature. Oxyrhynchite papyri from the first centuries AD include classical victory odes by Pindar and commentaries on them (cf. 5201), lists of Olympic victors for chronographical purposes (II 222; XVII 2082), and handbooks for demonstration matches of combat sports (5204 (?)). Athletics were central to gymnasium life, and performers were hired as entertainment during festivals—not only performing artists such as mimes and actors, but also pankratiasts or boxers in demonstration matches. Festival accounts such as III 519 show that the contestants in these matches were not awarded prizes but paid wages.¹ While most entertainers probably performed only locally, some also travelled over longer distances and became members of the artistic synod.² The construction of a huge theatre for about 12,500 spectators in the mid-second century shows that artistic performances were both frequent and popular in the city. The theatre of Oxyrhynchus is in fact the largest known in Roman north Africa, and one of the largest in the entire East, and symbolises Oxyrhynchus' civic ambitions.³

Shortly after the grant of a *boule* in 200, the rich landowner Aurelius (Calpurnius) Horion donated a sum of at least 10,000 drachmas to the city of Oxyrhynchus to be invested in loans so that the interest could be used for the organization of an annual contest for ephebes on the model of the *Antinoeia* (IV 705). He applied to Septimius Severus for approval of this benefaction, so that the city would not misuse his donation for any other purposes. Parallels from Asia Minor show that this was the normal procedure for the introduction of a new contest, and that it would be followed by discussions in the city council on the practicalities of implementation.⁴ The contest was first held in 210, and about ten years later it received sacred status.⁵ Victors in this contest could then bear the title τῶν ἐξ ἐφηβίας ἱεροδικῶν

¹ Cf. VI 1050, SB IV 7336.

² In VI 908 a gymnasiarch belonged to the artistic synod in 199.

³ The theatre was partially excavated by Petrie in 1922; see now D. M. Bailey, 'The Great Theatre', in A. K. Bowman et al. (edd.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts* (London 2007) 70–90. The earliest documentary references are P. Coll. Youtie I 28, dated to 169–173 on prosopographical grounds; XVII 2127, late second century, mentioning expenses for a *panegyris* in the theatre; XLII 3072, c.197–200. One of the capitals preserved in the British Museum belongs stylistically to the Antonine period.

⁴ Best known from the long inscription on the *Demostheneia* in Oenoanda, published and discussed by M. Wörle, *Stadt und Fest in kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien: Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oenoanda* (Munich 1988).

⁵ SB X 10493, relating to the 18th contest in 227, calls them sacred, but IX 1202, of 217 or shortly later, does not yet use this term.

(‘of the sacred victors from the ephebate’).¹ Sacred status was normally reserved for major quadrennial contests, and as far as we know the annual ephebic games of Oxyrhynchus and Leontopolis are the only ephebic games to have enjoyed this status. This irregularity can be explained by their model, in that both games were *isantinoeioi*, that is modelled on and ‘equal to’ the *Antinoeia*. The fragmentary new petition 5206 may refer to the Oxyrhynchite contest or to its model. Although the *Antinoeia* were annual, which was atypical for sacred contests, they did include competitions for boys and for adults, and had had an imperial founder, which explains their sacred status. Perhaps too the relatively low number of games in Egypt in the early third century encouraged the Roman government to recognize the ephebic games as sacred.

A particular problem is the age of boys who competed in the ephebic games. Ephebes did not represent an agonistic age-category; ephebic games were those open only to boys following the *ephebeia*, a mainly physical education programme for young males registered in the gymnasial group. Much is unknown about the ephebic programme in Egypt, including whether it took one or two years. Education may not have been continuous, but divided into different blocks.² The ephebic games became one of the most important events of the programme. Traditionally the participants in athletic contests were divided into *paidēs* (‘boys’) and *andres* (‘men’), sometimes with an intermediate category such as *ageneioi* (‘beardless men’). These categories represented stages of physical development and not just age, but *paidēs* were typically in their teens, or in their lower teens if there was an intermediate group of *ageneioi*.³ The age at which boys were ephebes was not the same throughout the Greek world, and ranged from 14 to their early 20s, although most were between 16 and 18.⁴ In Egypt boys were registered in the gymnasial group at or just before 14, the age of civic majority, after an examination (*epikrisis*) of their eligibility. Unlike the *epikrisis* papyri, documents recording enrolment (*eiskrisis*) of ephebes do not give their ages. In IX 1202 a father complains that his son was registered in the gymnasial group in 217 when he was 14, but mistakenly has not been included in a recently compiled list of boys who would soon become ephebes and could participate in the next ephebic games. Because the text itself is not dated we cannot be sure how old the son was by then, presumably 15 or 16. Ephebic competitors at Leontopolis were divided into *paidēs* and *ageneioi*, which suggests a certain

¹ E.g. XIV 1697, 1703, 1705, XLIII 3134, PSI V 457, P. Wisc. I 7, SB X 10216.

² Legras, *Néotés* 189, on the basis of P. Select. 19. Cf. I 42.

³ At the Olympics, where there was no category between boys and men, the ages of the ‘boys’ ranged between about 12 and 18; cf. N. B. Crowther, ‘The Age-Category of Boys at Olympia’, *Phoenix* 42 (1988) 304–8 = *Athletika* (Hildesheim 2004) 87–92.

⁴ A. S. Chankowski, *L'Éphébie hellénistique: Étude d'une institution civique dans les cités grecques des îles de la Mer Égée et de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 2010) 239–41.

range in their age and physical development.¹ An ephebic inscription from Antinoopolis does not make this distinction, but here younger boys could compete as *paides* in the *Megala Antinoeia*.² The surprising contract 5209 for one competitor to lose in a boys' wrestling competition probably relates to these games.

Although local *hieronikai* from the ephebate are the best attested agonistic victors from Oxyrhynchus, Oxyrhynchite victors at games elsewhere also appear increasingly in the third-century papyri. This is partly to be explained by their greater visibility now that Oxyrhynchite competitors no longer had to compete as Alexandrians, but the surge of games in Egypt also created a larger group of competitors who invested in their careers, and won contests in other cities, sometimes even becoming *pleistonikai*.³ Five certificates of membership of the artistic synod of the Oxyrhynchite attest to the vitality of agonistic life in the third century.⁴ The only Oxyrhynchite victor at the original Olympic games, as far as we know, was Aurelius Sarapammon (XIV 1643, PSI V 456).

From AD 273/4 on, Oxyrhynchus celebrated a sacred and eiselastic quadrennial contest with athletic, artistic, and equestrian events, the *Kapitolia*.⁵ It was held in Tybi (January).⁶ This bigger contest required more planning and money, and some papyri reveal the administrative challenge. Officials of the now necessary local branch of the athletic synod were asked by the *prytanis* of the city to ensure the presence of champions at the contest (Pap. Agon. 8 = P. Oslo III 85). The council appointed a president (XII 1416) and when necessary an assistant (LX 4079), and checked the accounts (LXIII 4357).

It is not clear where the *agones* of Oxyrhynchus were held. It is unlikely that the city had a stadium because Egypt did not have an architectural tradition of stadia. Until the second century AD Alexandria was the only city in Egypt with regular athletic games. The *Lageion* in the city centre—described during the Napoleonic expedition, but now completely built over—doubled as stadium and circus, though nearby Nicopolis may have had a more traditional stadium.⁷ Entertainment build-

¹ SEG XL 1568.

² I. Portes 9 lists the ephebic victors before the other ephebes. P. Lond. III 1164 (2) mentions the competition for men.

³ Pap. Agon. 9, 10, PSI XII 1251, P. Hamb. I 21, P. Fuad I Univ. 40, LXXV 5062.

⁴ Pap. Agon. 1, 3, 4, 5, 5208.

⁵ The presence of the artistic association in Pap. Agon. 1 = BGU IV 1074 suggests a competition for performing artists. XLIII 3135 is a contract between a free charioteer from Hermopolis and a horse owner from Oxyrhynchus about participation in the *Kapitolia*.

⁶ Pap. Agon. 1, composed during the first *Kapitolia*, is dated Tybi, year 5 of Aurelian (January 274). As there is no doubt about the identification of the contest in this document, it is stronger evidence than XLV 3248, an administrative diary referring to *Kαπιτω* on the 26th of Thoth, which led Strasser, 'Les Olympia d'Alexandrie', 436, to place the *Kapitolia* in September.

⁷ For the *Lageion* see J. S. McKenzie, S. Gibson, and A. T. Reyes, 'Reconstructing the Serapeum in Alexandria from the Archaeological Evidence', *JRS* 94 (2004) 101–4; M. Sabottka, *Das Serapeum in*

ings were multifunctional, even if they were originally designed for a specific type of event. Theatres could be used for combat sports, while gymnasia or circuses were suitable for sports that required a larger flat area. Circuses were preferred to stadia for athletic games in north Africa and Syria which, like Egypt, did not join the international agonistic circuit until the late second or third century.¹ A circus was not only more modern, grand, and prestigious, but also provided the infrastructure for horse and chariot races. At Antinoopolis a Roman-style circus was constructed for its Greek-style *agon*.² No monumental circus is attested at Oxyrhynchus, but the large theatre, the gymnasium, and the hippodrome must have sufficed for its ephebic games and perhaps even its *Kapitolia*. A long mound some 400 by 100 metres to the north-east of the city is the probable location of the late antique hippodrome, which may go back to the Roman period.³

3. Prizes and privileges

Competitors in the *agones* are usually identified by honorary titles recording prestigious victories; these were far more important for their self-representation than their professional specialty, which often remains unknown. The honours that successful competitors received are also central to several texts in this volume (5202, 5209, 5210). According to the traditional scholarly view, the only prize for victors at the top games was a symbolic crown, although they might receive more tangible rewards from their hometown. The organizers of minor games, on the other hand, awarded valuable prizes. Lately this view has been challenged on the grounds that the dichotomy between 'crown games' and 'prize games' was inspired

Alexandria (Cairo 2008) 38–9. A stadium at Nikopolis is mentioned by Strabo 17.1.10, but has not been located.

¹ Between the second and early fourth centuries, that is before Roman-style circus games are attested, circuses were built in Tyre, Caesarea, Beirut, Laodicea, Bostra and Gerasa, Anazarbos and Aigai. Cf. J. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing* (London 1986) 461–504, 527, 535–9, and 513–16 for the circus of Antinoopolis.

² The erection of this Roman building for a Greek event is, ironically, attested only in an Egyptian inscription; cf. Decker, 'Bemerkungen zum Agon für Antinoos', 40.

³ J. Padró, 'Recent Archaeological Work', in Bowman et al. (edd.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts*, 129–88, esp. 136. The documentary references from the earlier Roman period are problematic: a 'hippodrome street' (*ἄμφοδον ἵπποδρόμου*) is well attested in the first century AD, long before equestrian events were staged, and may be identical to the 'street of the camp of the cavalrymen' (*ἄμφοδον ἱππέων παρεμβολῆς*) and perhaps also the 'campus of the cavalrymen' (*κάμπος ἱππέων*), which are possibly to be located in the north-west part of town. These military training grounds were built over by 64, since P. Mich. III 179.12–13 attests a house on the 'former' *campus*. Thus it is possible that none of these texts refers to the same site as the late antique hippodrome. See J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchus in der Kaiserzeit: Studien zur Topographie und Literaturrezeption* (Frankfurt a. M. 1990) 83–6, nos. 10 and 24, with his maps. For references from the later period, see LXXVII 5120 3 n., and above 5205 10 n.

by the 19th-century ideal of amateurism, and misrepresents the ancient categorization of games, which developed only gradually and changed over the centuries.¹ For the Hellenistic category of 'stephanitic games', literally 'crown games', the debate continues as to whether monetary prizes could also be offered.² In the Roman period, when the more prestigious contests were termed 'sacred games', crowns and money could certainly be combined.³ As the athletic games in the *chora* were a phenomenon of the later imperial period, knowing the category to which they belonged does not help determine what prizes were on offer. The categories do indicate, however, what privileges an athlete enjoyed in his hometown, as some were limited to victors in sacred or in sacred and eiselastic games.

The papyri do not contain much information concerning prizes awarded by the organizers of the contest. A particularly interesting new text in this volume, **5202**, a copy on papyrus of an inscription for the poet Apion, mentions the statues, portraits, and golden crowns various cities offered him. These seem, however, to be special honours rather than standard prizes. A letter referring to two minor contests in Alexandria during an imperial visit (SB III 6222), probably by Diocletian, mentions a linen tunic and money as the prize for an ad hoc contest held on the training grounds of the military camp, and a silver object (*brabeion*, perhaps a form of crown), a tunic, and money for a contest in the *Lageion*. As these events were linked to an imperial visit, the prizes may not have been typical of those offered at the regular contests in Egypt. Honorary citizenship, on the other hand, does seem to have been a common reward. Like the champions known from honorary inscriptions across the Mediterranean, the successful competitors in the papyri have multiple citizenships from the cities where they had won, and in some cases had been granted the additional honour of membership of the city council.⁴ In their home cities too victors could be made councillors, in one case even though the council already had the full number of members (P. Lips. I 18).

¹ Although H. W. Pleket, 'Zur Soziologie des antiken Sports', *MNIR* 36 (1974) 57-87, had already offered a more nuanced view of the situation, the major challenge was made by D. C. Young, *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics* (Chicago 1984). S. Remijsen, 'The So-Called "Crown-Games": Terminology and Historical Context of the Ancient Categories for *Agones*', *ZPE* 177 (2011) 97-109, sketches the development of the system of categorization.

² E.g. W. J. Slater, 'Stephanitic Orthodoxy', *ZPE* 182 (2012) 168-78; P. Fröhlich in the *Bulletin épigraphique* of 2012 (*REG* 125) 546-547.

³ In SEG LVI 1359.22-25 Hadrian decrees that for each contest the prize money must be counted under the supervision of a Roman magistrate, and placed in a sealed bag next to the crown. Depictions of contests sometimes show prize tables bearing money bags and crowns (e.g. the Gafsa mosaic).

⁴ The famous Marcus Aurelius Asklepiades was citizen and councillor of Alexandria, Hermopolis, Puteoli, Naples, Elis, Athens, and many more cities (IGUR I 240.8-10). In XXVII 2476 there appear, among others, Aurelius Herakleios, citizen of Antinoopolis, Panopolis, Hermopolis, Lycopolis, and Oxyrhynchus, and Marcus Aurelius Horion, citizen of Hermopolis, Antioch, and 'many other cities'.

The custom of rewarding citizens who had won honour for their home city at a prestigious contest with special honours, gifts of food or money, or fiscal privileges was already well established in the classical period.¹ Later the professional associations of competitors lobbied the authorities to confirm more privileges. Documents of the imperial association of performing artists list the privileges and honours recognized in the reign of Hadrian, which included: *proedria* (the right to sit in the first row at public events), *asylia* (inviolability), *synthysia* (the right to join in the offerings at games), and freedom from duties such as military service, billeting, public liturgies, the payment of certain taxes, and the obligation to act as a judge or to provide guarantors.² Many of these privileges went back to the Hellenistic period, and were confirmed by successive Roman rulers.³ The champion poet Apion was honoured by his *patris* Alexandria with a procession in a white four-horse chariot, *sitesis*, and a gift in gold (**5202**). The triumphal entry into the city was reserved only for the greatest champions. *Sitesis*, the traditional right to free dining in the *prytaneion* (council building) of the home city, seems no longer common later in the Roman era. The one known case (P. Lond. III 1164 (i)) concerns Turbo of Antinoopolis, a sacred victor who sold the double right to free meals (or modest cash pension to buy meals) which he enjoyed because of two consecutive victories at the *Megala Antinoeia*. This local sale of a local privilege may not represent common practice; the international privileges were regulated by the synods and the government and could not normally be passed on even to the children of the beneficiaries.⁴ A reward enjoyed only by victors in the prestigious eiselastic games was the so-called *opsonion*, a generous monthly cash pension. This had probably been introduced under Trajan, when the category of eiselastic games first appears, and may be a more modern version of *sitesis*. The best evidence for *opsonia* comes from Hermopolis where a number of requests for payment of pensions in 267 to 268 has been preserved. In 268 the monthly rate of 180 drachmas was increased to 200. Typically *opsonia* were requested in a batch for the previous months, and sometimes even the previous years.⁵ In times of crisis emperors might be petitioned to instruct the city to pay overdue pensions.⁶

¹ Diogenes Laertius 1.55 suggests that Solon had fixed monetary rewards for Athenian victors at the Olympic and Isthmian games. In the fourth century BC Demosthenes, *Adversus Leptinem* 141, and Isocrates, *Antidosis* 301, mention rewards for victors (*δωρεῖαι, τιμῶν*).

² BGU IV 1074 = Pap. Agon. 1.4; XXVII 2476 = Pap. Agon. 3.5-6; P. Oxy. Hels. 25 = Pap. Agon. 4.1-2.

³ Cf. Le Guen, *Les Associations*, ii 70-71.

⁴ W. Chr. 158, a rescript of Gallienus of 267, exceptionally granted the orphan Aelius Asklepiades exemption from all services, offices, and liturgies on account of his deceased father and grandfather, both successful athletes.

⁵ SPP V 54-56, 69, 70, 72 col. i, 73 cols. i, ii, and iii, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, and SB XVIII 13751.

⁶ Hadrian ordered a proconsul to examine whether Corinth had enough money left to pay

Even though we have a considerable amount of information about the privileges for victors, some key questions remain. A first issue is where these privileges were valid. Most, evidently, were enjoyed in their hometowns. Others, such as the exemptions from customs dues on personal possessions and from the obligation to act as judge in a provincial court, were empire-wide. A major question that requires better evidence is whether victors could claim privileges and *opsomia* in every city where they had been granted honorary citizenship.

A second important issue is which competitors enjoyed which privileges. The *opsomia* were limited to victors of the highest category of contests, namely the sacred and eiselastic games. Many other privileges seem to have been restricted to *hieronikai*, victors of sacred but not necessarily eiselastic games. In XLIII 3116 = Pap. Agon. 10, M. Aurelius Sarapion, who had recently won the chariot race at the *Kapitolia* in Antinoopolis, informs a magistrate of his home city that this victory gave him complete exemption from taxes and liturgies. The *Kapitolia* had sacred—and eiselastic, but that is not relevant in this case—status. Some Roman-period texts add ἀτελείς ('tax-exempt') to the title *ιερονίκαυ*.¹ Dig. 27.1.6.13, a second-century law releasing athletes from appointment as guardian, likewise applied only to victors of sacred contests. A marked difference seems to have existed between competitors in the athletic and equestrian competitions on the one hand and the performing artists on the other. There is not a single case of an athlete or horse owner exempted from taxes or civic duties without having won a sacred contest, not even among the members of the athletic association. Members of the association of Dionysiac artists, however, all seem to have enjoyed these privileges, whether or not they had won important victories. This difference can probably be explained by the different origins of the associations. The regional Hellenistic predecessors of the artistic association had already acquired certain privileges for all their members, or at least their officials, which were later confirmed by the Roman authorities. This probably encouraged the performing artists to apply for membership of the synod despite its high cost. Athletes, however, had no professional organization until the first century BC, and only the *hieronikai* had traditionally enjoyed privileges, a situation which was confirmed by the Roman authorities.² Another difference, which may be related, is that members of the artists' synod all immediately acquired an office

two-thirds of the pensions, or only half of them (SEG LVI 1359.32–33). Valerian and Gallienus ordered a similar examination when informed that the pensions of the *hieronikai* of Antinoopolis had not been paid during a fifteen-month economic crisis (XLIII 3611).

¹ E.g. I. Ephesos 3005.8–10 (85–96) τῶν ἱερονεικῶν [καὶ ἀτελῶν καὶ ἀνεισφό[ρ]ων; M. Chr. 197.6 (203) τῶν ἱερονικῶν καὶ ἀτελῶν; cf. P. Tebt. II 286 (131), P. Hamb. I 14 (208/9).

² In Le Guen, *Les Associations* i no. 56, Sulla confirms the privileges of the members of two regional synods of Dionysiac artists (including freedom from military service and liturgies). In SB I 4224, on the other hand, Mark Antony confirms the privileges of a synod represented by an athletic trainer and consisting only of *hieronikai*. Cf. J. Ebert, 'Zum Brief des Marcus Antonius an das κοινὸν

in the synod—in one case secretary, but usually high priest, or high priestess as in the new text 5208—perhaps to legitimize their privileges, while athletes paid for membership only, and priesthoods were purchased separately later.

The third major issue is how the administration behind this complex circuit of contests functioned, as a member of the artistic association or a victor in sacred (and eiselastic) games could only secure his privileges if the city had proof of his status. Therefore the artistic association issued notifications of new members, such as P. Oxy. Hels. 25 = Pap. Agon. 4 or 5208, which may have been filed in the city archive.¹ Athletes could only claim privileges after a victory, not on the basis of membership of the athletic association. This explains why P. Lond. III 1178 = Pap. Agon. 6, the membership certificate of the unsuccessful boxer Hermeinos, was preserved in the victor's family archive. Notifications of victory were issued by the city hosting the games (e.g. XLVII 3367 = Pap. Agon. 9; SPP XX 69 = Pap. Agon. 7). They state which competition had been won and when, but refer only in vague terms to the privileges due to the victor which were presumed to be known. On receipt of a notification, the city council asked its clerk to note the special rights with the beneficiary's name in the public registers (e.g. BGU IV 1073 = Pap. Agon. 2, in response to BGU IV 1074 = Pap. Agon. 1). For rarer privileges, the victor might send a separate petition.² Wrongful appointment to liturgies could be resolved: in I 59 (292) the *boule* of Oxyrhynchus notifies the *strategos* that a man who had been appointed to sit in the court of the *praefectus* was to be replaced by another, because the former had petitioned for exemption on the grounds of being a *hieronikes*.

Because of the empire-wide boom in sacred games in the third century, by the end of the century a considerable group of potential liturgists could not be called upon by the local authorities. It is in this context of increased financial pressure on the cities that we should read the petition by Gaius Julius Theon for confirmation of his privileges (5210). The professional associations of performing artists and athletes were not happy with the spread of their once exclusive privileges, which were now within reach of local competitors who did not join the associations. On their petition, around 293–304 Diocletian and his colleagues restricted exemption from liturgies to triple *hieronikai* who had a lifelong career as professional and incorruptible competitors and had won at least one victory in Greece or at Rome.³ The

Asias, *APF* 33 (1987) 37–42 = *Agonismata* (Stuttgart 1997) 293–301. Membership of the synod of performing artists cost 250 *denarii* in the later third century (Pap. Agon. 1, 3, 4; see 5208 10 n.).

¹ Cf. Pap. Agon. 1, 3, and 5.

² In PSI XIV 1422, for example, a retired competitor, presumably a herald, applied for the position of herald of the Heptanomia, explaining that the emperors had officially reserved this function for former competitors. See further on this text 5210 introd.

³ *CJ* 10.54.1; an older version is preserved in P. Lips. I 44. The edited Justinianic version only mentions athletes, but the older version shows that the rule was issued at the request of both synods, and applied to all *hieronikai*.

petition of Gaius Julius Theon (?) (5210) in 298/9 reflects this new attention to the length of a career and might suggest that this law dates to before 298/9, but he does not specify the number and locations of his victories.

4. From Greek agones to the Roman circus

The heyday of Greek athletics in Roman Egypt was the late third and early fourth century. Although Alexandria may have had contests until the end of the fourth century, *agones* are no longer attested in the *chora* after the 330s. Victors who had lifetime privileges go on using their titles until the middle of the century, though not the victors in ephebic contests who could no longer claim privileges after Diocletian's law.¹

The end of Greek athletics is a complex phenomenon connected to broad cultural changes, but money was certainly a factor. The sudden expansion of the local agonistic circuit had put financial pressure on the cities and their elites. The expenses of games were normally paid out of the income from an agonistic fund, such as Aurelius Horion's benefaction at Oxyrhynchus, combined with sponsorship by the local elite and sometimes money from the city treasury. A memorandum of 317 on expenses for the forthcoming *Kapitolia* (LXIII 4357) seems to suggest that the planned budget was 527 talents and 500 denarii, that is 427 talents and 500 denarii in income from an unspecified fund, and 100 talents contributed by the councillors. Only 60 of those 100 talents were collected, however, and they had also had to spend an extra 115 talents from the city treasury. Because the local elite could or would not bear the financial burden, it started to weigh more heavily on the cities. When Constantine and his sons confiscated some of the possessions of cities, the loss, even if relatively slight, to civic income may have intensified problems for the *agones*.² The success of the Egyptian agonistic circuit was fragile anyway, because the *chora* represented a serious detour for any competitor from outside the region, and the disappearance of just one or two contests made the detour less worthwhile.

Unlike Greek *agones*, circus games grew in popularity in the course of the

¹ Late attestations are P. Hamb. I 21 (315), a *hieronikes pleistonikes paradoxos*; CPR VI 41 (c.320), a *xystarch*—official of the athletic association—at Hermopolis; I 42 (323), ephebic contest of Oxyrhynchus; LX 4079 (328), *Kapitolia* of Oxyrhynchus; P. Herm. Landl. I (G) 182, 217; 2 (F) 404, 427 (mid 4th century), *hieronikai*. F. A. J. Hoogendijk, 'Athletes and Liturgists in a Petition to Flavius Olympius, *praeses Augustammicae*', *Pap. Congr. XXVI* (2012) 349–56, publishes a petition from 343 mentioning athletic victories, but not where and when they had occurred. In 364 and 388 Libanius writes to influential men in Alexandria asking them to persuade local athletes to come to Antioch, and refers to—clearly continuing—contests in Egypt, presumably in Alexandria (*Ep.* 843, 1183).

² The view of A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* (Oxford 1964) 732–7, that these confiscations were heavy has been challenged by S. Schmidt-Hofner, 'Die städtische Finanzautonomie im spätrömischen Reich', in H.-U. Wiemer (ed.), *Staatlichkeit und politisches Handeln in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 2006) 209–48.

fourth century. These had little to do with the previous Greek-style horse races that had always been part of athletic and artistic *agones*, and in which the number of participants depended on how many horse-owners wanted to compete. Late antique horse races followed the Roman example: they were the main spectacle of games, and the authorities controlled participation by hiring the horses. In Alexandria horse races independent of Greek *agones* had a long tradition.¹ By 315 the Roman circus factions of the Blues and the Greens were certainly involved in their organization, as is attested by some receipts for compulsory purchases of barley authorized by the Prefect for a *hippotrophos* from Alexandria (i.e., a liturgist paying for the races), who was at the same time *factionarius* of the Blues.² From the *chora*, there is only one uncertain reference to the Colours in the fourth century.³ The so-called racing archive, which contains orders for payments to the staff involved in the games (O. Ashm. Shelt. 83–190; SB XX 15078–80; ZPE 141 (2002) 162–4), makes no reference to the Colours. These ostraca are from the fourth century, but cannot be dated more precisely.⁴ The curse on the horses of the Blues (5205) suggests that within the following century it became customary to match horses and charioteers of the Green stable against horses and charioteers of the Blue stable, each faction having its own supporters. This is consistent with the situation in provincial cities elsewhere in the East.⁵ Because of the relatively low number of papyri surviving from the fifth century, it is unclear exactly how horse racing developed (though cf. LXXVII 5120), but by the mid sixth century the factions of the Greens and the Blues dominated the entertainment landscape throughout Egypt. The horses of the Blues and Greens and circus personnel turn up in several accounts and administrative documents from the sixth and seventh centuries, especially at Oxyrhynchus.⁶ A column survives on the site of Oxyrhynchus with one inscription honouring the emperor Phocas (602–10) and another marking the area as '(the)

¹ Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 31.31, 40–6, 74–90; Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 5.26.

² P. Cair. Isid. 57 and 58.

³ CPR VI 63, an order for the payment of wine to a cellarmaster (?) of the Blues from the Hermopolite archive of the estate manager Apollonios, c.320; see J. Gascou, *CE* 58 (1983) 226–7 (= BL VIII 106). However, this does not prove that the Blues already organized the entertainment in Hermopolis. The archive is private, and the cellarmaster may just have been a visitor from Alexandria. The suggestion in R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 105, that the entire entertainment sector of Hermopolis was combined 'into some sort of unified enterprise' is based on very slim evidence.

⁴ Shelton assigned the archive to the fourth century on palaeographical grounds. His suggestion that it should be dated before c.351 rests on slender grounds; cf. Bagnall, *ibid.*

⁵ A. Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford 1976) 214–29.

⁶ I 140 (550), contract with a supervisor of the racing stable of the *comes*; 145 (552), receipt concerning goods for the circus horses of the Greens; 152 (618), payment of wages to the 'starters' of the Blues; XXVII 2480 and PSI VIII 953 (565/6), payments of wine by the Apion estate to various people, including expenses for the horses of the Blues.

place belonging to the Blues' (τόπος διαφέρων τοῖς Βενέτοις).¹ Inscriptions by the Colours in the theatre of Alexandria belong to the same period.² Areas in Her-mopolis and Heracleopolis were named after the Circus Colours.³

The financial consequences of this reorganization remain unclear. The model of Alan Cameron, which links the practical organization by two coloured stables to state-run financing, underestimates the continuing involvement of the city. In Oxyrhynchus, the organization of the horse races was certainly a liturgy in 370 (XVII 2110), and perhaps as late as 465 (LXXVII 5120, with introd.). The archive of the Apions shows that in sixth-century Oxyrhynchus the expenses for circus games, like many other municipal expenses, were the fiscal responsibility of the large estates.⁴

Circus events were not just about horse races. When the factions spread to the provincial cities of the East, they also started to incorporate performing artists.⁵ Thus late antique circus programmes, of which this volume contains four new ex-amples, do not all mention races. In XXXIV 2707, P. Bingen 128, and 5216 horse races (μίκκος ἡμιόχων or ἄθλον) alternate with other entertainments such as mimes, acrobats, animal shows, and athletes. In contrast P. Harrauer 56, 5215, 5217, and 5218 list only performances, and although none of them is complete, the surviving entries show no alternation with races. Instead, a range of different performances was presented. The athletes and mimes performing in the circus were not the direct successors of the champions of the agonistic circuit, but moved in very different social networks. From the fourth century on athletes appear as simple labourers, and are identified by their profession.⁶ In the Diocletianic petition and loan in this volume (5210, 5211), the competitors were still identified as *hieronikai*—the former moreover as *pleistonikes paradoxos*—but the fifth-century order to supply meat (5213) refers merely to 'athletes'. Mimes figure in a similar text (5212). Roman-style en-tertainment was a quite different world.

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¹ SB III 6017 and 6018; cf. Padró, 'Recent Archaeological Work', 134–5, pl. III.

² SEG XXXI 1492, 1493, 1494, 1498.

³ See CPR XXIII 33.3–4 n.

⁴ J. Gascoü, 'Les institutions de l'hippodrome en Égypte byzantine', *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 185–212 = *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (Paris 2008) 51–71, on A. Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford 1973). Cf. A. Puk, *Das Spielwesen in der Spätantike* (Diss. Heidelberg 2012) 118–27.

⁵ The incorporation of the theatre from the fifth century on is described by Cameron, *Circus Factions* 214–29. C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (London 1993) 57–60, suggests that this derived from a merger of the circus factions and synods; however, the synods had been exclusive and expensive associations that had declined together with the agonistic circuit in the course of the fourth century.

⁶ In CPR VIII 44, a list of people who had bought grass, Sois the boxer figures beside a don-key driver and a carpenter. In XLVIII 3426, the athlete Isidoros was paid less than the value of four cucumbers for an odd job.

INDEXES

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 ἄπτος 5189 → 17 (ter) (?)
 ἄπτός 5189 → 17 (ter) (?)
 ἄρα 5190⁴ 3 (?)
 Ἀργεφόντης [5190² 2 (?)]
 ἀρετή 5192⁴ 4 (?)
 ἀρήσιος [5190² 3 (?)]
 ἄρης 5192³ 3 (?)
 ἀρίσιμος [5190⁴ 3 (?)]

ἄριστον [5190⁴ 3 (?)]
 ἀρμονία 5191 9
 ἀρνεῖσθαι 5187² 19
 ἀρχίμιμος 5188¹ ii (12 (?)), (17 (?))
 ἀρχων 5188¹ ii (12 (?)), (17 (?))
 ἄσκημα 5193 20
 ἀσφαλώς [5185 6 (?)]
 ἀδ 5189 → 22
 ἀδ 5189 → 25
 ἀξάνειν 5193 19
 ἀτάρ 5190¹ 5
 ἀυτός 5184 ii 9 (?) 5189 ↓ 13 (?),
 21, → 15, 22, 27, 29, 30 5192¹ 19
 (?) 5193 5 (?), 26 [5194 25 (?)]
 ἀφιστάναι 5192² 8 (?)

βάθρον 5191 7 (?)
 βάκλον 5189 ↓ 28
 βάλλω [5188¹ i 6 (?)]
 βαρύς 5184 ii 5, 8
 βασιλεύειν [5194 22–3]
 βαστ- 5189 → 11
 βίος 5187² 4
 βλέπειν 5188¹ ii [2 (?)], 9, 11, 13
 βούλεσθαι [5193 18 (?)]
 βρα- 5188¹ i 11
 βρόθος 5191 13 (?)
 βροτός 5188¹ [i 14 (?)], ii 5
 βωμός 5194 27

γαῖα [5191 12]
 γαιη- 5192⁴ 4
 γαιέτις 5187² 11–12
 γάμος 5187² 8–9
 γάρ [5188¹ ii 4 (?)] 5189 → 18
 5192¹ 2, 11 2 5193 21 5194 8,
 15, 20
 γε [5184 ii 4 (?)] 5186 4 (?)
 γένειν 5189 ↓ 25, → 9

πρός 5209 17 5210 15 5211 [i
4], ii 4
πύκτης *see* Index XII

ρύμη 5214 2
βαννύναι 5208 12

σεβαστός 5211 i 9, ii 9; *see also*
Index IV s.vv. Severus Alexan-
der; Gallienus; Diocletian and
Maximian Augusti, Constantius
and Maximian Caesars;
θεοὶ Σεβαστοί; οἱ Σεβαστοί; ὁ
Σεβαστός; Index V

σημειῶν (5212 3)
σός 5210 4 (*bis*), 11
στεφανίτης 5208 [3], 5
στέφανος 5209 14
σύ 5207 i 10, ii 10 5210 18, [18
(?)], 19, [20], 21 5211 i 8, 9,
11, 14, 16, 19 (*bis*), ii 8, 9, 11, 14,
16, 19

σύμπας [5207 i 5, ii 4-5]
σύμμηφος 5210 10
συναγωνιστής *see* Index XII
συνθήκη 5209 21
σύνοδος [5208 2, 7 (?)]
συντέλεια 5210 6, 9

συντιθέναι 5209 7, [16]

ταυρία 5184 introd. 8
τάλαντον *see* Index XIII (*b*)
τε 5211 i 16, ii 16
τελεῖν [5206 9 (?)] [5208 13]
τέλεσμα *see* Index XIV
τέσσαρες 5210 16
τεχνίτης *see* Index XII
τις 5209 16, 19 5210 5, 10, 20
τοῖνον 5210 5, 11
τόκος 5211 i 14, ii 14
τοπαρχία *see* Index IX
τόπος 5214 4

τρεῖς 5209 19 5211 i 10, 25, ii
9, 25
τρίς 5209 10
τριχίλιοι 5209 12
τρόπος 5210 20
τυγχάνειν 5210 5, 11, 20
τύχη 5215 1; *see also* Index X

υἱός 5209 [7], 17, 18
ὕμεις [5206 9-10 (?)] [5208 11]
5209 8, 11, 23
ὕπαγειν 5210 5
ὕπαρχειν 5210 10 5211 i 17, ii
16-17

ὕπατος *see* Index V

ὕπερ 5207 i 11, ii 11 5209 18
5210 12 5211 i 19, (28), ii (18),
(28)

ὕπερθεσις 5209 19-20 5211 i 13,
ii 13

ὕπερπίπτειν 5211 i 14, ii 14
ὕπό 5209 8 5210 6 (*bis*) 5211 i 19
ὕπογραφή [5210 19]

φιλανθρωπία 5210 5
φόρμος [5183 introd.]

χαίρειν [5207 i 10, ii 9] [5208 5]
5209 7 5211 i 8, ii 7 (5212 1)

χάρις 5210 20

χείρ 5211 i 9, ii 8

χειρόγραφον 5211 i 17, ii 17

χρηματίζειν 5207 i 9, [ii 9]

[5209 (2), (5)]

χρήσις 5211 i 8, 24, ii 8, 24

χρόνος 5210 8, 15 5211 i 14, ii 14

ὡς 5207 i 9, [ii 9] 5209 [2], 5

5210 6, 9, 16 5211 i 27, ii 26

ὡσαύτως 5210 6

XVI. CORRECTIONS TO PUBLISHED TEXTS

P. Oxy. X 1297 15
P. Oxy. XXVII 2476 = Pap. Agon. 3, 16
P. Oxy. LVI 3855 10
P. Oxy. Hels. 25 = Pap. Agon. 4, 25, 28
PSI XIV 1422 (date)
SB XX 14705.14

5189 ↓ 16 n.
5208 10 n.
5189 ↓ 16 n.
5208 11 n.
5210 introd.
5205 3 n.

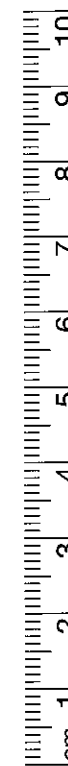
5183

fr. 1

fr. 2

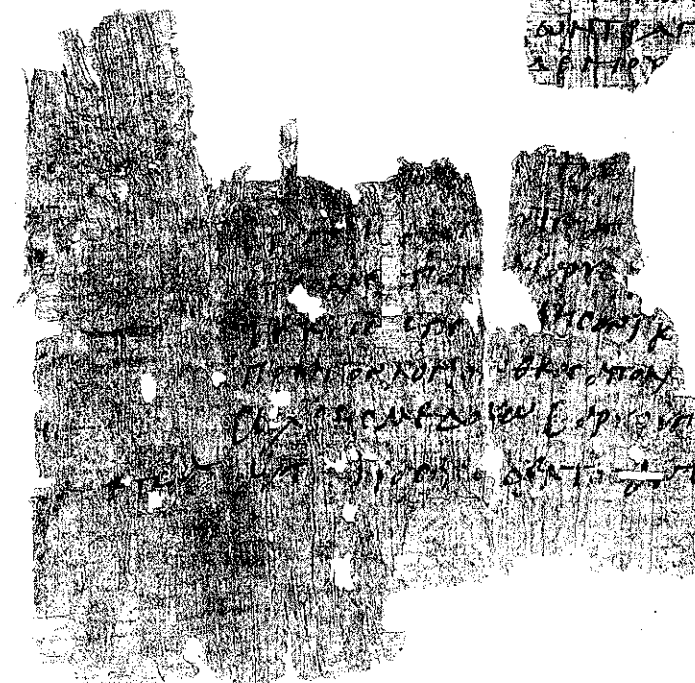


5185



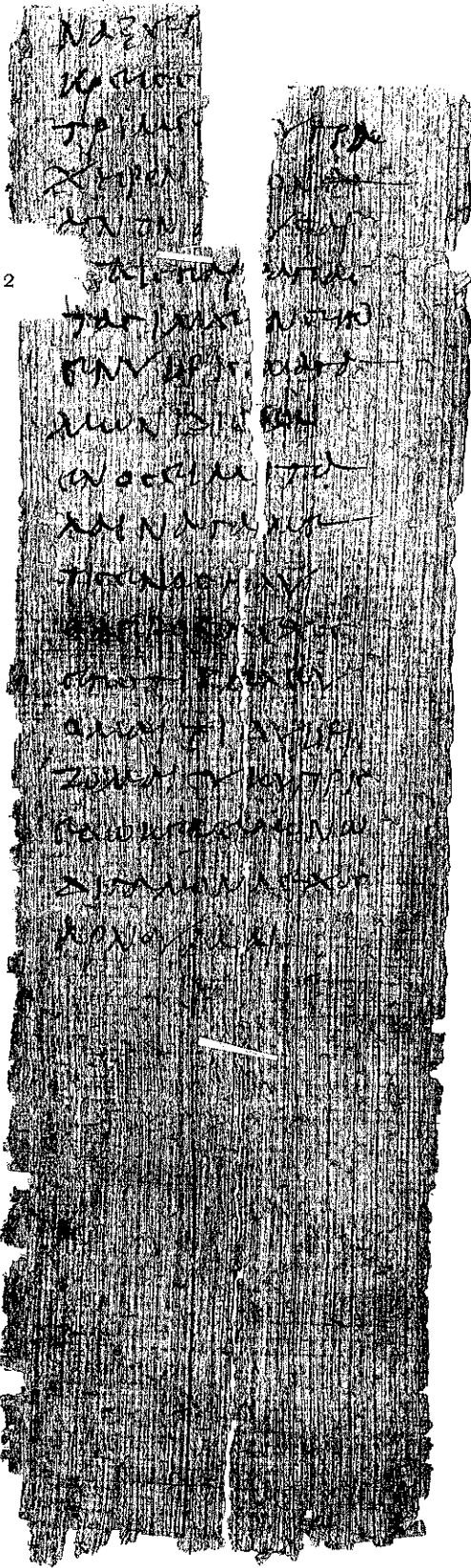
5186

5184



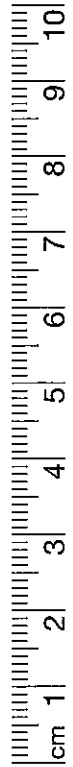


fr. 1



fr. 2

5187



fr. 3



fr. 2



fr. 3

5188



fr. 1

PLATE VI

fr. 2

Fragment 5198, fr. 2: A long, narrow strip of papyrus with several lines of Greek text, including the word 'ΕΠΙ'.

fr. 3

Fragment 5198, fr. 3: A small, irregular fragment of papyrus with a few lines of Greek text.

5198

fr. 1

Fragment 5198, fr. 1: A large, vertical strip of papyrus with many lines of Greek text. A ruler is placed to the right for scale, showing centimeters from 1 to 10.

5190

fr. 1

Fragment 5190, fr. 1: A rectangular fragment of papyrus with several lines of Greek text. A ruler is placed to the right for scale, showing centimeters from 1 to 10.

5199

Fragment 5199: A large, irregular fragment of papyrus with many lines of Greek text. A ruler is placed to the right for scale, showing centimeters from 1 to 10.

PLATE VII

5190

fr. 3

Fragment 5190, fr. 3: A small, irregular fragment of papyrus with a few lines of Greek text.

fr. 4

Fragment 5190, fr. 4: A small, irregular fragment of papyrus with a few lines of Greek text.

fr. 5

Fragment 5190, fr. 5: A small, irregular fragment of papyrus with a few lines of Greek text.

fr. 2

Fragment 5190, fr. 2: A small, irregular fragment of papyrus with a few lines of Greek text.

fr. 7

Fragment 5190, fr. 7: A small, irregular fragment of papyrus with a few lines of Greek text.

fr. 9

Fragment 5190, fr. 9: A small, irregular fragment of papyrus with a few lines of Greek text.

fr. 11

Fragment 5190, fr. 11: A small, irregular fragment of papyrus with a few lines of Greek text.

fr. 6

Fragment 5190, fr. 6: A small, irregular fragment of papyrus with a few lines of Greek text.

fr. 8

Fragment 5190, fr. 8: A small, irregular fragment of papyrus with a few lines of Greek text.

fr. 10

Fragment 5190, fr. 10: A small, irregular fragment of papyrus with a few lines of Greek text.

fr. 12

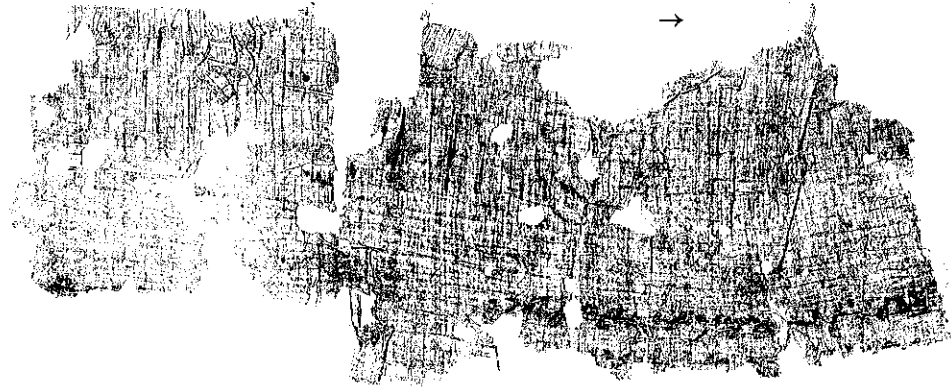
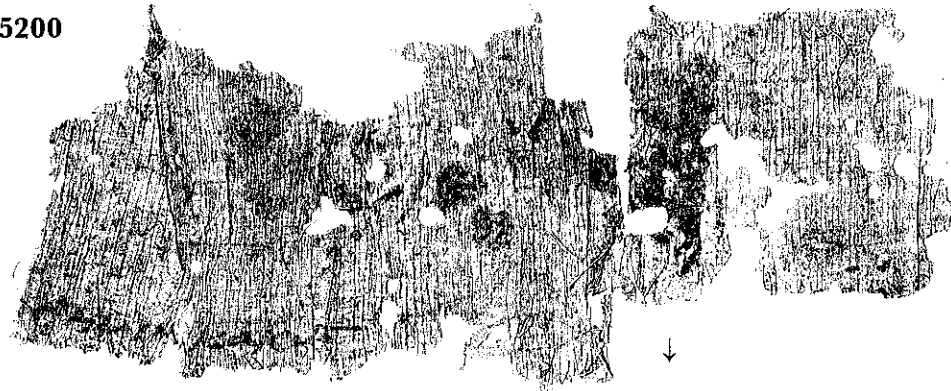
Fragment 5190, fr. 12: A small, irregular fragment of papyrus with a few lines of Greek text.

5201

Ruler for fragment 5201, showing centimeters from 1 to 10.

Fragment 5201: A large, irregular fragment of papyrus with many lines of Greek text. A ruler is placed to the left for scale, showing centimeters from 1 to 10.

5200



5205

